

THE SUNDAY TIMES

INSIGHT: A PERSPECTIVE ON ULSTER PART 2 BEGINS ON PAGE 15

Barber to State bosses: spend, spend

By James Margach

THE GOVERNMENT, shaken by the remorseless rise to a million unemployed and facing a censure debate on Tuesday, is to help nationalised industries speed up their investment plans. The multi-million pound projects, some of them pigeon-holed by the Government's "stand-on-your-own-feet" policies, are now needed to create jobs—and fast.

State-owned industries such as coal, electricity, gas, railways and steel are to be told to bring forward all the plans which would use a lot of labour. Mr Anthony Barber, Chancellor of the Exchequer, wants priority to be given to projects in

the regions. "But one Minister admitted last week: 'We've not got any miracle cures up our sleeves. It's going to be a long, unpopular slog and in political terms we've got to sweat it out.' And the call for help to the nationalised industries is not itself going to prevent the dole queues from topping the politically-inflamatory million mark."

Yesterday spokesmen for some nationalised industries, in fact, doubted that there was much at all which could be rushed through the pipeline. The Gas Council said

it was running down its spending, and the National Coal Board "did not know of any plans which have been shelved and which we could then go ahead with."

The chiefs of the nationalised industries are, of course, waiting for further details from Mr Barber. Some, certainly, would be only too eager to dust off some plans.

The biggest single project waiting on the shelves of any nationalised industry is the £250 million plan for a new nuclear power station, Sizewell B, in Suffolk.

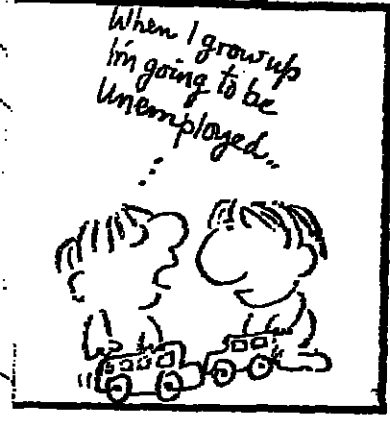
The Central Electricity Generating Board estimate that £20 million would be spent in the first 12 months from the go-ahead.

The expansion of nationalised road transport fleets would help British Leyland's bus factories at Workington and Leyland, Lancashire, and also the company's lorry works at Bathgate, near Edinburgh. And British Rail says it has a £120 million-a-year programme waiting in the wings for a promise of Government help.

But the British Steel Corporation has no investment plans for the immediate future. A new plant at Redcar in the North-East is a front-

runner for future development, but a BSC official explained yesterday that no decision could be made until Mr John Davies, Secretary for Trade and Industry, has completed his review of the Corporation's future.

All the nationalised industries will be pushing the Government for generous financial help in hustling through any investment plans. Cut-price loans, at the least, are likely to be given to them. The industries are all bound by the five per cent ceiling on price rises, and say it is impossible to peg prices to this level, step up investment and still make a profit.



NEWS DIGEST

21 NOVEMBER 1971

aiagon paras fly to ave Cambodians

REE battalions of South Vietnamese paraps are being flown into the Cambodian jungle of Phnom Penh this weekend to drive Cambodian units virtually encircled some 6,000 North Vietnamese troops. One of their first missions will be to knock out an artillery regiment which has been rocketing Phnom Penh airport. Reinforcements, expected to arrive this week, will have to 20,000 Cambodian troops marooned 60 miles from the capital in what was to have been a prestige operation to open Highway 19 to Kompong.

tudents plan 'ay of action'

National Union of Students' conference at Margate is confidently expected to today for a national "day of action" December 8 against Government plans to close financial control of student unions. But the executive wants to avoid "total shutdown of every academic institution" after Christmas, called for by anti-Incoming President Digby Jackson. Incoming President Digby Jackson's quarrel is with the Government not with college authorities.

our escape as icht is sunk

RE MEN returned to England yesterday after their £20,000 yacht had been sunk in a collision with an unknown freighter while on a winter cruise in the Mediterranean. The four, picked up by a Spanish boat after three hours in a life raft, Christopher Morris, 23-year-old skipper, owner of the Waverhampton, Jeffrey York, 23, and Paul Derry, 20, and Christopher Morris said: "I was keeping an eye on the ship when it suddenly came down on us. I shouted but it hit us on the starboard side and disappeared into the darkness. I'm certain it was on automatic with no one on watch."

vo dia on icy road

Norwich people, Mr Paul Boisey, 25, Mrs Patricia Soan, 45, were killed yesterday in a three-car crash on icy roads between Great Yarmouth, Norfolk. There were snow showers at the northern tip of the county and there were more icy patches on the roads in Lancashire, Cheshire and around Ingham. Heavy snow falls affected many roads, but at Ayrshire they brought a record ski bookings.

e last poem of APH

DOWAGER Lady Davidson said yesterday when she visited her lifelong friend Alan Herbert a few weeks before his death at the age of 81, he lay in bed dictating what must be his last poem to laughter. He signed it and gave it to Davidson. It reads: "There was an old man who said 'Damn! at a hell of a nuisance I am. I'm a nuisance to you, I'm a nuisance to me, I don't seem to mind, I want a hell of a nuisance I am!'"

n Thadden resigns

A shock announcement yesterday that the German neo-Nazi National Democratic Party, Adolf von Thadden, told the party's congress that he was withdrawing from the contest for chairmanship because of disagreement among the party's leadership. In 1967, when Von Thadden became chairman, the NPD was seated in seven state parliaments; now represented in one.—Agencies.

iesweeper blaze

A fire broke out a few yards above an ammunition store aboard the Royal Navy minesweeper HMS Venturer in Bristol City yesterday. Firemen took two hours to bring it under control. The Petty Officers' quarters were badly damaged.

A PERSPECTIVE ON ULSTER

INTEREST created by The Sunday Times' INSIGHT team's A Perspective on Ulster has been so enormous that it is 1 to reprint the two-part series in a new and revised form as a paperback. Further details next week. Second part of A Perspective on Ulster starts this week on page 15.



Shoeshine and boy: a young Muslim prepares to add to the heap of shoes outside London Mosque yesterday before entering to celebrate the end of Ramadhan, the month of fasting

Guns found in convent grounds

COMMANDOS uncovered an arms cache yesterday in the grounds of a convent at Armagh. The discovery was made as troops and police were ending a fruitless search of the monastery in Antrim, where two monks have been charged with helping two escapees from a Belfast jail.

Men of 42 Royal Marine Commando were called to Mount St Catherine's Convent, Armagh, to investigate an abandoned car. A corporal, standing near the perimeter wall, looked over it and saw a ground sheet sticking out from under camouflage. Underneath he found a board concealing a

hole, which held two 22 rifles, a single barrel shotgun, a telescopic sight, silencer and 200 rounds of 22 ammunition.

"All were in perfect working order," said an Army spokesman. There was no search of the convent or of a girls' school which is part of the convent buildings.

At the Abbey of Our Lady of Bethlehem, Postlemonagh, Co Antrim, an Army spokesman said no discoveries had been made there. The Abbot, Father Aengus Dunphy, said: "Throughout the operation the police and military carried out their duties with courtesy and consideration." Speaking

of the arrest of the two monks in a car with two other men near the Irish border, he said: "It is the tradition of the Cistercian Order to extend hospitality to all who come to the guest house, whatever their beliefs and to give them spiritual or material help in their need. The community as a whole was not involved in the incident, nor even aware of what was going on."

In Belfast, the Home Affairs Ministry said 1,103 people had been arrested and 538 of them released since internment began in August. A further 57 were released after detention orders had been served on them.

Sir Alec sees Nkomo in cliffhanger

CLIFF-HANGER tension marked every phase of yesterday's session of the crucial negotiation in Salisbury between British Foreign Secretary Sir Alec Douglas-Home and Rhodesian Prime Minister Ian Smith.

After six hours of talks on Friday, and a half-hour private meeting between Sir Alec and Mr Smith yesterday morning, the discussions were unexpectedly adjourned in the afternoon, apparently until tomorrow. The initiative for the adjournment apparently came from the Rhodesian side, suggesting that Mr Smith and his colleagues had reached a decision.

But later it was announced that the two leaders would have a further private meeting in Mr Smith's residence at 5 pm, at Sir Alec's "urgent" request. There was immediate speculation that Sir Alec was having second thoughts.

Much of the Salisbury summit publicity yesterday was, however, focussed on Sir Alec's secret talks in the Rhodesian capital with African nationalist Joshua Nkomo who was brought 500 miles from political restriction in a remote spot near the Mozambique border. The two men met for 70 minutes at Mirimba House, former home of the British high commissioners to Rhodesia and now the headquarters of the British mission to Rhodesia.

It was the first time that Mr Nkomo—former head of the outlawed Zimbabwe African People's Union (Zapu)—had met a British Minister since his 1968 meeting with Mr George Thomson, former Commonwealth Secretary. Mr Nkomo has been held in restriction since 1964 without trial for political offences.

It is understood that in addition to what he told Sir Alec yesterday, the detained nationalist leader gave the British Foreign Secretary a memorandum setting out his views on the British proposals for settling the six-year-old dispute with the Rhodesian Government.

Shortly after their talks ended, a white van with blacked-out windows, apparently carrying Mr Nkomo, left Mirimba House. It took a circuitous route through Salisbury's southern suburbs to the New Sarum air force station from

where Mr Nkomo, presumably, was being flown back to restriction in Gwelo.

It is now clear that the Rhodesian leader has refused permission for Sir Alec to see the other nationalist leader, the Rev. Ndabaningi Sithole, who is serving a six-year jail sentence for plotting the assassination of Mr Smith and two Cabinet ministers.

Mr Sithole was former head of the outlawed Zimbabwe African National Union (Zanu). Earlier this week, he had a seven-page handwritten memorandum smuggled out of Salisbury jail and handed to Sir Alec.

The memorandum totally rejected the granting of independence to Rhodesia before majority African rule, and said the five British principles for a settlement were "inimical to the basic interests of the Africans."

David Holden, page 9

Frank Usher's way with black chiffon.

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INSIGHT CONSUMER UNIT

There is disturbing evidence that the causes of a recent and fatal Viscount crash have not been eradicated. Insight Consumer Unit reports:

ON THE AFTERNOON of August 9, 1968, British Eagle Viscount Foxtrot November, bound from Heathrow to Innsbruck, spiralled out of the low Bavarian skies on to the Nuremberg Munich autobahn, killing all 49 people on board. The time, according to wrist watches recovered from the debris, was 13.29 GMT. But for 27 minutes before impact the aircraft had been doomed. Cumulative electrical failure had left the pilots without the blind-flying instruments vital for a descent through cloud.

The German inquiry into the accident was meticulous and it recommended, among other things, an extra artificial horizon (the key blind flying instrument) and a stand-by radio with a totally independent source of electrical supply. The British authorities decided not to carry out this recommendation in full.

Last month—on October 14—another, more modern Viscount, flying over the Channel from Guernsey to Heathrow, also experi-

enced cumulative electrical failure. For several minutes it appeared that the plane, BEA's Hotel Sierra, would have to descend through cloud with its blind flying instruments useless because of the electrical collapse. This could have spelled disaster.

In the event, thanks to a small hole in the clouds and a partial recovery of power, Hotel Sierra landed safely if somewhat unexpectedly in Jersey. But it had been a close haul. Now BEA, the manufacturers and the Air Registration Board, are all investigating. But not a word of all this has been breathed to the public nor will BEA's results be published.

Our reconstruction of last month's incident aboard Hotel Sierra has caused the British Airline Pilots' Association (BALPA) to revive inquiries into the electrical systems of those aircraft that do not have a completely independent source of electrical power for emergency blind-flying instruments. Our inquiry also raises the question of whether or not the

flying public is kept too much in the dark.

To appreciate the significance of what happened to Hotel Sierra, it is first necessary to analyse in some detail the Viscount crash of August, 1968. Even the dry language of the accident report, published in England earlier this year, cannot conceal the horror of Foxtrot November's last half hour as reconstructed by the German investigators.

The plane took off uneventfully from Heathrow in broad daylight with 44 passengers and four crew. About half an hour before it was due over Munich, the aircraft's four generators all appear to have "tripped out"—in other words, they ceased to pass on power to the electrical system. Somehow the warning system failed to alert the pilots. The accident investigators concluded that the main warning lights were either too inconspicuous or not working properly. The subsidiary warning light was not even in the pilot's field of vision. (Modifications were recommended by the inquiry and implemented.)

Failure to spot the loss of power from the generators was the root cause of the disaster. Only the battery was feeding the plane's needs and its power was seeping away much more rapidly than

necessary. If the pilots had known the generators were out of service they would have switched off the many inessential electrical systems, such as main cabin lights, galley heating and deicing gear. This would have given them half an hour with enough electricity to power their flight instruments and so, hopefully, make a safe landing.

Instead, unknown to the crew, the battery was rapidly running down. At 1252 GMT, over Allersberg and 16 minutes after the generator failure, Foxtrot November put out a normal radio report. By 1300 hours, when the next report was due, the radio was dead. This was probably the pilot's first intimation of trouble. But already the trouble was very bad indeed.

Commercial aircraft carry instruments called transponders which emit identification signals to ground radar crews. An emergency code setting should alert the ground to total radio failure. The setting of Foxtrot November's transponder, recovered from the charred debris, showed that this emergency code had been selected. But the batteries were too weak to send even this last signal.

Continued on Page 2

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Wilson will urge changes in internment



By James Margach, Political Correspondent

A FULL REVIEW of the administration of internment policy in Ulster, enabling the authorities to separate the hard-line gunmen from their fringe supporters who can then be released more quickly, is expected to be urged by Mr Harold Wilson following his tour of Northern Ireland and Eire last week.

Mr Wilson believes that a marked speed-up in releasing innocent men who have been rounded up by the security forces on suspicion must be the starting point for any progress towards setting leaders of the different communities to join in discussions on a political solution.

I understand the feature of his tour which most depressed the Opposition leader was his visit to the Long Kesh internment camp - not as a result of any brutality inflicted, but rather the atmosphere of human desolation there.

But he is in no doubt about

the need to preserve a delicate balance while giving a new spirit of hope to all sections. For this reason he will not recommend any radical changes, like removing control of security policies from Belfast to London.

However, Mr Wilson will have great difficulty in retaining even the shreds of a bipartisan Ulster policy when he is back at Westminster this week. There is mounting pressure among Labour MPs for the party to repudiate the Compton Report for its distinction between brutality and ill-treatment, to demand the suspension of interrogation procedures till Lord Parker's committee has reported on them, to set a time limit on the use of troops in Ulster, and to press a straight vote of censure on the Government.

Most Shadow Ministers will be anxious to prevent Labour being stamped into a position of appearing to attack the conduct of British forces in Ulster



TV can't be neutral between army and IRA - Chataway

SPEECHES

BROADCASTING and TV were not required to strike an equal balance between the IRA and the Ulster Government or between the Army and the terrorists Mr Christopher Chataway, Minister for Posts and Telecommunications said last night.

The BBC had made it clear over the years that impartiality could never mean "impartiality between right and wrong, tolerance and intolerance, or between the criminal and the law."

No obligation of impartiality could be placed on the broadcasting authorities from exercising their editorial judgment - and from exercising it within the context of the values and objectives of the society they are there to serve.

He told the Northern Area Conservatives at Billingham that he was in no doubt that many were worried about TV and radio coverage in Ulster.

"Nobody wants propaganda substituted for truthful reporting. At the other extreme, it would

be just as obnoxious to have the soldier and the murderer treated like the employer and the trade unionist - as if they were moral equals."

There was a second area of difficulty. "Given the scale of their coverage and the power of the medium, the broadcasting authorities have a duty not just to report but to weigh the effects of their reporting."

"They can never legitimately allow themselves the degree of irresponsibility in which a small, insignificant magazine might harmlessly indulge. They have to acknowledge that they are, in a sense, participants as well as observers."

The presence of cameras can, in certain circumstances, be an incitement. The volume and the type of coverage they give can materially affect the course of a struggle such as this.

"It is a heavy responsibility that we place, therefore, upon the members of the IRA and the governments of the BBC, who have as trustees for the public to judge not only what is best in news terms, but what is in the national interest."

New Ministry 'badly needed'

A MINISTRY for Consumer Affairs to provide a national complaints service is badly needed in Britain, Mrs Jennifer Jenkins, chairman of the Consumers' Association, publishers of the magazine Which? said yesterday.

Mrs Jenkins, wife of Labour deputy leader Roy Jenkins, told the Association's annual general meeting: "Here in Britain, progress is gravely hampered by the absence of any department whose primary purpose is to look after the consumer interest. The Department of Trade and

Industry, the Ministry of Agriculture, Fisheries and Food, Department of the Environment and even the Home Office, all have specific responsibilities. But would be surprising if, in departments of this size and complexity - two of which are actually concerned with sponsorship particular industries - consumer matters had a high priority."

The new ministry, says Association, could enforce existing consumer legislation, such as the Trade Descriptions Act, set up new machinery to help consumers. It could insist on more competition among manufacturers and on the disclosure of more information to shareholders.

The Association's proposals are based on the Canadian Ministry of Consumer and Corporate Affairs. "Both administrative drive and legislative achievement," said Jenkins, "the Canadian ministry is a growing and acknowledged success."

Viscount

Continued from page 1

trips, the crew can at least try to bring it back by operating special switches. This might or might not have worked. But there was no way of finding out. The switches themselves are operated by battery power. The trickle from the battery was not enough.

Still hoping to navigate to Innsbruck on instruments, the crew adopted the standard procedure of maintaining their planned flight. But now their navigation aids failed. This ruled out Innsbruck because they knew the weather there was too bad for them to descend below cloud and make a visual approach.

Their only hope now was to plunge through the clouds before they lost all idea of their position, to re-establish visual contact with the earth and so fly to the nearest landing ground. What they did not know, because of the radio failure, was that the weather directly beneath them was now even worse than over Innsbruck. Cloud stretched from

16,000 feet to only 700 feet above the ground.

Foxtrok November began its descent, making preparations for an emergency landing. Passengers fastened their seat belts. By 1312 GMT, however, the ultimate nightmare was upon them - the blind-flying attitude instruments became unreliable through lack of electrical power.

The attitude instruments tell the pilot whether he is flying up or down, the amount of roll and the degree and force of turn - in short, the plane's attitude in all three dimensions. The most important of the attitude instruments is the artificial horizon, backed up by a turn and bank indicator. Both are electrically powered.

It is impossible to fly without these instruments in cloud or darkness. First the pilot begins to suffer from simple disorientation as in blind-man's-buff. This builds up into compelling but totally misleading sensations, amounting even to complete reverse impressions. There is no way the pilot can tell what is happening to the plane. US military studies suggest that under these conditions the average period be-

fore the pilot loses control is three minutes, the known maximum eight minutes.

Foxtrok November soon exceeded safe maximum speed as it descended into the clouds. A large portion of both wings sheared off in mid-air, smashing a part of the tail as they did so. The plane emerged from the clouds in an uncontrollable 50 degree bank and crashed in flames on the autobahn.

This sequence of events had begun when the generators tripped out. The inquiry revealed that the generators on this Viscount had a thoroughly bad history of tripping out. Pilots consider this a weakness of Viscounts and one which has not yet been completely eradicated.

Certainly it was the tripping out of the generators which precipitated the trouble on Viscount Hotel Sierra last month.

Moreover, a confidential report in the hands of The Sunday Times provides clear proof of at least one more incident in 1970. In this case, two of the four generators of Viscount Victor Mike tripped out while the plane was taxiing on arrival at Heathrow. One of these same generators tripped out again two days later.

Some pilots are also concerned that electrical failure may have been a factor in the unexplained loss of Viscount Victor Mike over the Irish Sea in 1968.

The accident in Germany began with generators tripping; but it might well have been averted if there had been attitude instruments and radio both with a source of electrical supply completely isolated from the plane's existing power supply. This was not only what the German board of inquiry recommended, but also what BALPA advocated as one possible solution.

But the British Air Registration Board, which is responsible for airworthiness, only went so far as to require an extra artificial horizon powered from a sub-system of the main supply. It did not insist on a totally independent power source. Nor did it follow the recommendation on stand-by radio.

This was not an unconsidered decision and it satisfied BALPA until the Hotel Sierra incident. The ARB commands international respect for the standards it maintains, and in this case it took the view that it was better to perfect one foolproof integral electric system than to rely on the principle of duplication. This is fine so long as the system is foolproof. Because of the electrical failure last month on Viscount Hotel Sierra BALPA will be asking the ARB to reconsider its original judgment.

At this point, and for the record, it must be clearly stated that the British Aircraft Corporation, who took over from Vickers, the original manufacturers, insist that there is no connection between Foxtrok November over Munich and Hotel Sierra over the Chan-

nel. The company stresses that Hotel Sierra belongs to a different Viscount series with a heavily modified electrical system. Thus, says BAC, there is no basis for comparison.

Our position is that the incidents do have common factors in both cases cumulative electrical failure occurred. And in neither plane was there an independently-powered stand-by set of blind flying instruments. (This problem, associated with the pre-jet era, has been overcome in today's sophisticated airliners.)

Our description of the events aboard Hotel Sierra does not in any way impugn the high safety standards maintained by BEA. But it is in everybody's interest to see whether a fresh look at the German recommendations is now due.

BALPA certainly thinks so, though a spokesman stressed that in the association's view the planes are safe enough to fly - "otherwise we wouldn't be flying them."

The following account of the Hotel Sierra incident is based on a preliminary BEA document

which is now the subject of analysis.

One of Hotel Sierra's four generators had already tripped out before take off from Guernsey on October 14. This failure was within acceptable limits. The plane took off normally and climbed through cloud to its cruising level of 12,000 feet. Once at this level, the crew tried to operate the switch gear to bring back supply from the missing generator. Instead, it quick succession they lost supply from all three remaining generators.

According to drill, the crew then switched to emergency electrical use and should have been able to rely on battery powered instrumentation and radio for thirty minutes. They began an emergency descent towards Jersey airport with the cloud-bank at 6,000 feet beneath them.

But after only three minutes, according to BEA's preliminary report, the battery ran down. This was a critical and completely unexpected failure. It would be a clear demonstration that the integral electrical system was not foolproof. At this point the pilots

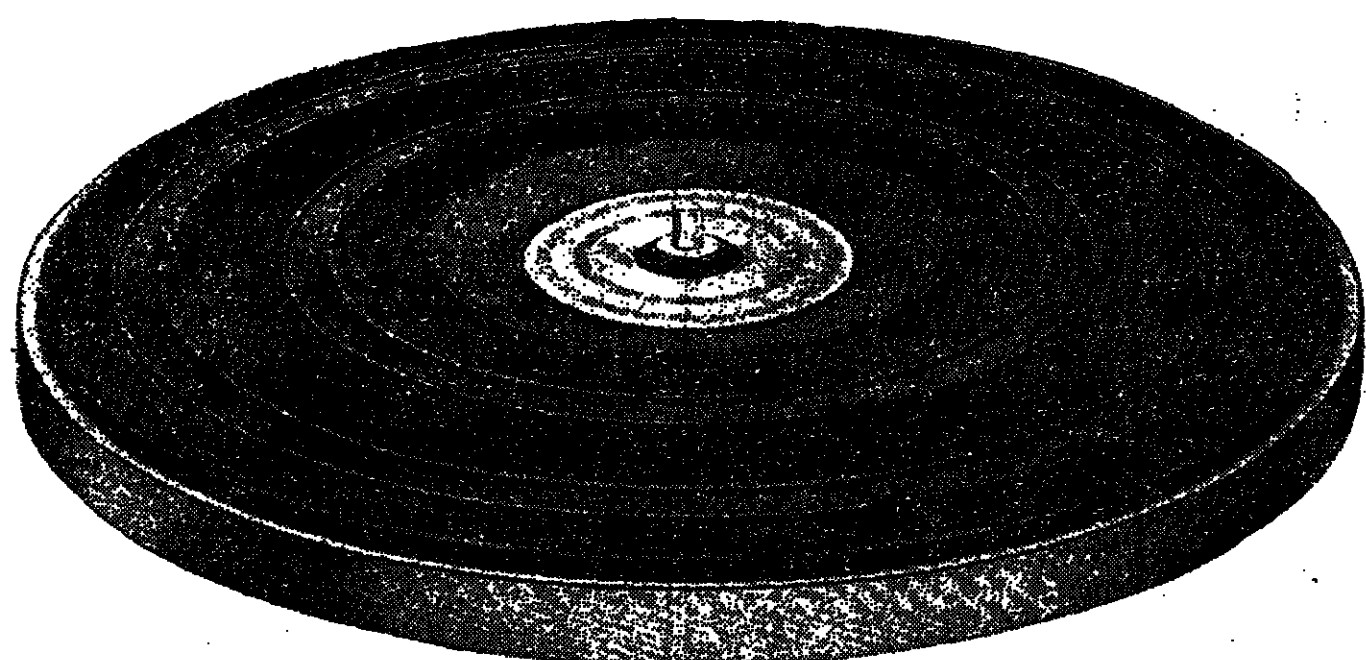
faced - or at the very least believed they faced - the danger that brought Foxtrok November spiralling out of the sky. The main hazard was that blind flying instruments would run down during the descent through cloud.

Fortunately, the pilots spotted a small hole in the clouds and descended to about 6,000 feet visual contact with the sea. At 6,000 feet supply from one of the generators came back. For this point, providing they did not lose the generator again - at test meter still indicated something was badly wrong. Hotel Sierra had a thin margin of safety.

BEA told us in an initial statement that electrical supply maintained throughout the flight. When asked to amplify this, the light of the BEA document which suggested battery failure, a company spokesman advised us not to take the first statement too literally. Indeed, it seems to us probable that there was a period between battery failure and the recovery of the generator at 6,000ft when there was electrical power at all.

This is one of the points investigators will have to establish. Already, as a result of Hotel Sierra incident, BAC has made modifications and issued revised instructions to pilots. Nevertheless, the burning remains whether or not it is acceptable for a passenger plane to fly without emergency blind flying instrumentation powered from a totally independent source. Speaking of Hotel Sierra, one senior pilot said: "Had not been lost at night, or above a cloud, the mind boggles at the consequences."

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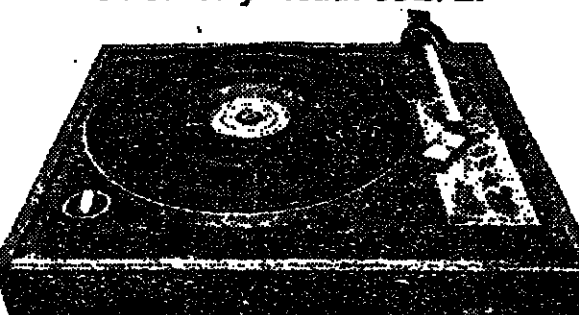
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The lonely lives of Ali and Sharaz

By Anne Robinson

I used to stand on the corner Dairy House Road in Derby, to the church and next to lollipop women. It was a time to see his friends as they filed into school. Then the pop women edged away. His friends walked away in circles, avoiding him. And one or two ed from a distance. "We're allowed to talk to you any time," he says. "It doesn't make the journey any easier. He says he doesn't see his friends. But when you're in the city and cannot remember the way, it's a serious illness, it is in to learn you're a medical case."

Life began to close in for Ali and Sharaz 18 months ago when it was discovered that they were typhoid carriers. That is, 2 or 3 per cent of all people who have once had the disease they continue to carry in their bodies and pass it on to other people. The discovery was made by medical authorities and they should no longer attend school because of the possible risk to their children, and a private school was arranged for them. This was upsetting enough for Ali and Sharaz, but now the master of the school to which they have been sent has banned his friends from mixing with them in the streets. "A dangerous disease," he says. "It is how they are described in the streets."

Mr C. Arthur Hodgkinson, master of the Secondary Modern School for Immigrants, one of our newcomers are not related against typhoid until they are so after they arrive, says, "and so I have made it an unspoken rule."

A ridiculous ruling," says Lynne Leyshon, Derby's Medical Officer of Health. "Provided they wash their hands regularly, they are perfectly safe."

Leyshon says that the children's total isolation from friends was never his intention. "The reason for a child's isolation is that at their age they cannot be relied on to be clean at all times. They must be trained. Because

we are responsible for school children in school hours we must take every possible precaution. When they are a little older and can be relied upon to keep themselves clean, they can work, marry and lead normal lives."

According to Dr Leyshon, the excitement aroused last week when it was revealed that Derby had two school-age typhoid carriers was caused by the public's lack of information about the disease.

In the middle of this conflict is a confused and unhappy Pakistani family. The children's father, a 53-year-old railway labourer, whose English is not good, cannot understand why his children do not receive medicine. It would be unfair to say that the situation has not been explained to him. The only known cure for a carrier is a major gall-bladder operation. Perhaps this fact has been lost in translation. Whatever the reason, the father regularly marches Ali and Sharaz to the Derby medical centre and demands that they receive treatment.

The front room in the children's terraced home is kept as a schoolroom. They work normal school hours with their tutor. In comparison with their parents, their English is very good. "They have huge advantages," says the Derby education department.

Ali, a serious quiet boy, talked to me last week about his life. "All I have to do is keep my nails clean. Sometimes it worries me not seeing my friends but mostly I've got used to it. After they started walking away from me when I met them at school, I stopped going. I play with my sister. I look after her."

"Our teacher has taught us a lot of English and on Saturdays and Sundays we sit and read to each other. My sister reads very well but I think she's too shy to show you. I think when I'm 18 or 19 I'll go to college."

Their father said in broken English that he earns £18 a week and the cost of heating their "schoolroom" is more than he can afford. Their mother said she thinks it is wrong that the children have no chance to talk English except with their teacher.

Ali is quite right to look forward to a normal life. According to the Department of Health, several hundred cases of typhoid occur in Britain each year and two to three per cent end up as permanent carriers. At a conservative estimate, this means there are about 200 in Britain at the moment. Their only restriction is that they must not work in the food trade.

Within the household, Ali and Sharaz live normally. The family share the same food. Two lodgers live in the house. It is understandable then that the family should feel unhappy about the way they are dealt with in the outside world.

On one side is a headmaster who forbids them to play with his pupils, and a group of shopkeepers who pleaded last week that the family address should be kept secret because it would be bad for their business. And on the other hand, a medical officer of health who has not so far considered it necessary to have the rest of the family or the lodgers inoculated against typhoid, and who says: "When their schooling is finished and they are seeking employment, they should not tell people they are carriers. It might ruin their chances of a job."



Sit-down salesman at ease: colleagues at the Earl's Court Caravan and Camping Show take a break from selling portable chemical toilets.

Penarth, Herne Bay, Sheerness do worst in pollution test

And Eastbourne, Margate, Brighton do the best

By Bryan Silcock

MOST OF THE samples of seawater collected off 15 British bathing beaches in a recent survey were contaminated with human sewage, some of them heavily. And this kind of pollution may be contributing to the spread of bacteria resistant to antibiotics.

A number of seaside towns have been criticised in the past few years for discharging their untreated sewage directly into the sea. The new survey, by Dr H. Williams Smith of the Animal Health Trusts farm livestock research centre at Stock in Essex, confirms that this practice does constitute a risk to health. The survey is reported in the latest issue of Nature.

"If hygiene means anything at all it surely means not swimming in other people's excreta," says Dr Williams Smith.

He used the traditional indicator of contamination with human sewage: the presence of microbes called *E. coli* found in large numbers in the human gut. It is usually harmless, but where

E. coli can survive other more dangerous bacteria will be able to survive too.

The worst sample averaging 4,000 organisms in 20 millilitres of seawater came from Penarth in South Wales. Herne Bay with 2,000 and Sheerness with 900 were the runners-up.

The samples from Ogmore, Clacton, Barry Island, Ramsgate, Whitstable, Canvey Island, Broadstairs, Lowestoft and Yarmouth all gave counts in the hundreds. The only resorts which came really well out of the survey were Eastbourne, Margate and Brighton, where there was virtually no contamination.

Dr Williams Smith pointed out yesterday that in some cases the towns named might not be responsible for the state of their own beaches. "The high counts at Penarth could be due to the raw sewage discharged by other towns into the River Taff for example," he said.

His results also demonstrate the

importance of weather conditions in measuring the degree of contamination of seawater. The average numbers of *E. coli* in samples from Southend collected on a number of different occasions varied from 20, a very low count, to 1,200 when there was a strong on-shore wind.

In all cases a substantial proportion of the *E. coli* found in the samples were resistant to a wide range of antibiotics. This is a pretty sure indication that they did originate in human, and not animal, sewage. It also has another important implication.

Harmless *E. coli* resistant to antibiotics are able to pass on this resistance to other bacteria which are far from harmless, the microbe responsible for typhoid, for example. Only one antibiotic is really effective in treating typhoid, and if a strain resistant to it emerged the consequences would be serious. This is one of the possible dangers, if a fairly remote one, of contaminated seawater.

Seamen on dole take case to Race Board

By Wendy Hughes

SIXTY coloured seamen in Liverpool are to carry their fight for jobs to the Race Relations Board, alleging that their union and shipping employers are operating a colour bar against them.

Most of the men are British, but because of a curious section of the Race Relations Act, 1968, they are unlikely to have much success. Section eight, para 10 of the Act states: "It shall not be unlawful to discriminate against any person in respect of employment on a ship, if... it would result in persons of different colour, race or ethnic or national origin being compelled to share sleeping rooms, mess rooms or sanitary accommodation."

The allegations of 27 of the men have been rejected already by the shipping industry's own machinery which is set up under the Race Relations Act to deal

with racial allegations. But they are not satisfied that the inquiry was either impartial or thorough.

The racial conciliation committee which sat on November 12 to hear the seamen's complaints included representatives of shipowners and the National Union of Seamen. The Committee heard all 27 cases in just over two hours.

The men were hardly surprised when last Monday they were told their allegations had been rejected. They intend to appeal to the Race Relations Board for an independent inquiry.

A spokesman for the National Union of Seamen said last week: "It is not even possible to tell you how many black or coloured seamen we have in the union,

because we do not keep that kind of record." Peter Robson of the British Shipping Federation said: "We don't keep any record which shows blacks, browns or whites. The Merchant Navy Establishment, which supplies men for us to shipowners, sends any man who is available unless a company's facilities are not suited to mixed races, and then the company must specify this in writing to the Merchant Navy Establishment."

Mr Robson did say, however, that he thought "from a look at the names" that about 60 unemployed coloured seamen were on the books of Liverpool's Merchant Navy Establishment—10 per cent of Liverpool's official total of 600 unemployed seamen—and that there was a total of about 250 coloured seamen unemployed throughout the country.

Recruits set record

THE ARMY is signing on a record number of young recruits, writes David Divine. Figures are believed to be soaring because service conditions are better, pay is greater, unemployment is higher—and also, surprisingly enough, because there is trouble in Ulster: the chance of active service has always been a good recruiting sergeant.

A total of 13,384 young soldiers joined the Army in the 12 months ending in September against 10,000 at the end of September 1970. And figures for the last quarter of the 1971 period were up 27 per cent.

Overall Army and Navy recruitment is up too, and a 9 per cent drop in the RAF's figures for the last quarter is due to a planned decrease the Ministry says.

Next week in colour

HARTER of a century after his post-war reopening, Colour Magazine next week at the latest of the chat moguls, Michael Parkinson, to men whose predictions are ITV's programme: at the Faces in the TV people who had, became famous, and died; at the 15-second movies—the fashionable names direct the commercials; and the most popular TV shows of the week.

The Booker Prize

Booker Prize—£5,000 and a trophy—is Britain's most notable award for fiction. The winner, from a tantalising shortlist, will be announced on Sunday, in the Times tomorrow.

Care talks to the finalists themselves and their work.

5,000 winner weekly £25,000 Premium prize, announced yesterday, won by Bond number 5772. The winner lives in Hampshire.

Amnesty pleads

AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL, in one of their most comprehensive efforts, yesterday protested simultaneously to eight foreign governments about their "prisoners of conscience." All but one of them accepted the petitions calling for the release of political prisoners.

At the Chinese Legation in Portland Place, London, however, the doors stayed shut. Lord Avebury, the leader of the deputation, put the petition through the letter box. It was pushed back out. He tried it under the door—and back it came over the top. The Chinese Chargé d'Affaires remains unaware of Amnesty's concern for Bishop Kung, a Roman Catholic who was sentenced to life imprisonment in 1960 for "counter revolution."

Lord Avebury was among a number of personalities who delivered petitions to Embassies in London. The poet Stephen Spender, the Peking-jailed journalist Anthony Grey and Tony Smythe, of the Council for Civil Liberties, headed demonstrations to the Greek, Paraguayan and Russian Embassies. The demonstration marks the 10th Anniversary of the founding of Amnesty International.

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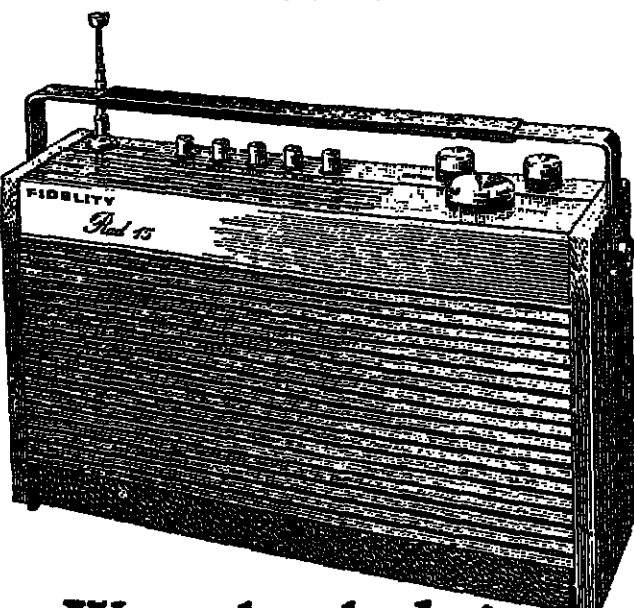
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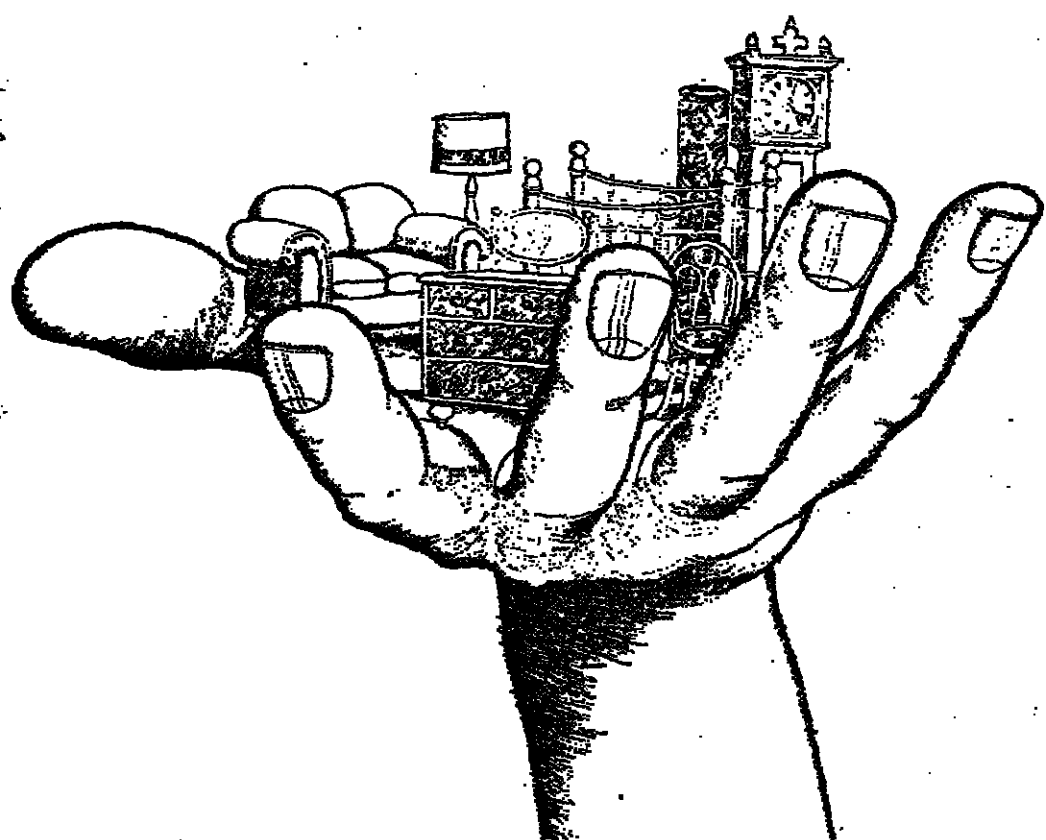
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The spirit of Dunkirk goes sour in Coventry

ERIC JACOBS INDUSTRIAL NOTEBOOK

THE COVENTRY district committee of the Engineering Union (AUEW) will meet today to decide whether to hold talks with the employers tomorrow in a last bid to avert a massive shutdown of the engineering industry in the city.

A proposal for more talks was made by the employers late on Friday night after both sides had spent six fruitless hours at Mr Robert Carr's London office. But the prospects are dim, for union and employer representatives are sticking rigidly to their positions. The employers insist that a date should be set for the abandonment of the Coventry toolroom agreement, and the union demands it should be preserved in some form.

Strike action by 7,000 toolroom-rated men in fact began as men left work on Friday evening, and if no solution is found soon some 30,000 workers are likely to be laid off in Coventry by the end of the week, and in two weeks as many as 100,000 engineering workers all over the country. The Coventry toolroom agreement, a lonely survivor of the spirit of Dunkirk, in 1940 the demands of war production over-rode everything else and whatever stood in their way had to be eliminated.

One problem was persuading toolroom workers to stay in their toolrooms. The very volume of aircraft and vehicles which the

engineering industry was turning out tended to draw them away to assembly lines where under the piece-rate payment systems the more you produced, the more you were paid.

In the toolrooms the pay was by the hour, not by volume, and the workers there, though producing the jigs and dies which are essential to assembly lines, and though among the most highly skilled in the business, inevitably fell behind in pay.

Ernie Bevin, the Minister of Labour, stepped in and in June, 1940, persuaded the engineering employers and the unions to do a deal nationally — toolroom workers would receive the average pay of the most skilled production workers in their particular firm. But on their own the Coventry district of the engineering employers took this deal a stage further. They went for an average of the whole district, arguing that if they didn't, toolroom workers would be attracted from one firm to another within the tightly-knit Coventry engineering set-up, instead of moving from one job to another within the same firm as happened elsewhere.

The Coventry deal endured untouched from January 7, 1941, until last summer, and the national agreement survives elsewhere. But the Coventry employers decided enough was enough. The deal may have suited the mood of Dunkirk but it was surely unsuitable in the 1970s. The day of the plant bargain had arrived. Was that not the message of the Donovan Royal Commission on the unions? Did not Mrs Barbara Castle and Mr Robert Carr agree at least on that? Was it not an article of faith for Messrs. Jones and Scanlon? And must the case for ending the Coventry deal not therefore be self-evident?

So far as I know there is no hard evidence to show that the deal has had the inflationary effects that employers claim to dislike most about it. Does it really do so much to transmit high pay rates from one firm to another? Or is it the piece-rate systems on which the toolroom rate itself is based that are mostly responsible for Coventry's high pay levels? And wouldn't the toolmakers have to be highly paid, with or without the deal?

But whatever the truth may be, the employers believe the toolroom rate is inflationary. They find it being quoted in all kinds of negotiations — for other skilled workers, for clerical staff, even for Coventry busmen, and even far outside Coventry in Dagenham or Scotland. And that evidence seems to be enough for them.



Bevin: is his deal outdated?

The Engineering Union in Coventry shares the employers' belief. That, of course, is why it wants to hold on to the agreement. And there is some logic on its side. Since all toolroom workers are paid a rate based on an average of skilled rates, the probability is that some at least must be getting more than if they had to negotiate firm by firm. On the other hand, some must be getting less. Rolls-Royce has already tried to tempt their toolmakers in Coventry out of the deal with a 24 rise.

The employers, having decided the system must end, processed their decision with at least formal correctness. They put it into the engineering industry's dispute procedure and when, unsur-

prisingly, it was rejected by union, they terminated the agreement anyway.

This method did not improve the union, nor indeed all employers in Coventry. On the latter told me that employers should have been going to negotiate their way of the old arrangement over two-year periods, during which they would negotiate themselves into a new one. Instead, he said, "they tried to railroad it. It was scandalous."

As always with Coventry, impact of the strike will spread far beyond the 7,000 toolroom-rated workers who are actually being brought out, and into beyond the firms that employ them. Chrysler, for example, have to lay off all its 18 workers throughout the country within days, although the company has separate agreements with the union and cannot, therefore, hope to influence the course of the dispute.

If the strike lasts for length of time it will take on unusually bitter edge. Strikers and others laid off because of the strike will find their standard of living will drop with a vengeance. By December 1, more provisions of the Industrial Relations Act come into force. Some employers may be reluctant to take the first major action against a union under the laws.

And even if the gloomier predictions do not come true, will be lucky if we can turn latest industrial Dunkirk into kind of a triumph. It is 30 years too late for that.

The Thatcher meeting and Mrs Harbershon's second thoughts



Mrs Thatcher: accused of conspiracy

300 people. My husband suggests that Mr Short ought to go and see a psychiatrist. I have no further comment."

The Surrey "Stop the Eleven-Plus" campaign have alleged that several meetings have taken place between Mrs Harbershon and Mrs Thatcher. But the Education Department said yesterday that it had no record of any official appointments between the two women at the Department.

Mrs Thatcher, told the Commons on Thursday that she remembered being asked "by an unknown woman" at the tennis club meeting to give an undertaking about the continuation of grammar schools. "That is my total recollection of that meeting," she said. Mr Short had

shown the Commons a photograph taken at the meeting showing Mrs Thatcher and two feet away — Mrs Harbershon.

Mrs Thatcher's directive was issued five months ago when, although she accepted Surrey County Council's application to create Rydens Comprehensive School at Walton-on-Thames, she undermined plans to make the school fully comprehensive by stipulating that children must still have the right to apply for places in grammar schools outside the Walton area.

The council is standing by its plans to go comprehensive throughout Surrey, but Mr Richard Lawson, Conservative vice-chairman of the education committee, fears Mrs Thatcher may intervene again when other districts in the county apply to go comprehensive.

The sub-committee in charge of school reorganisation is now awaiting a leading barrister's advice on the legality of Mrs Thatcher's directive and early next month will decide what to do. "It looks as though court action is one of our options," says a Conservative member of the sub-committee.

Already the councillors have

studied an opinion prepared for the Surrey Stop-the-Eleven-Plus Campaign by Louis Blom-Cooper, QC, which declares that the education authority is under no duty to obey Mrs Thatcher's directive. Mr Blom-Cooper says the council itself may be acting unlawfully if it retains eleven-plus examinations solely to obey Mrs Thatcher.

In the 13-page opinion, Mr Blom-Cooper argues that Mrs Thatcher exceeded her statutory powers in finding Surrey's action "unreasonable," that her decision was given without sufficient reason and that Surrey is empowered to be the final arbiter until challenged in court by Mrs Thatcher.

Mr John Timpson, the headmaster of Rydens school, condemns Mrs Thatcher's directive on educational grounds. He says:

'Drop BBC for schools'

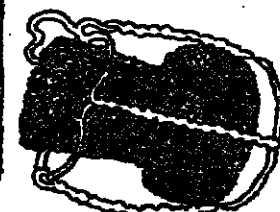
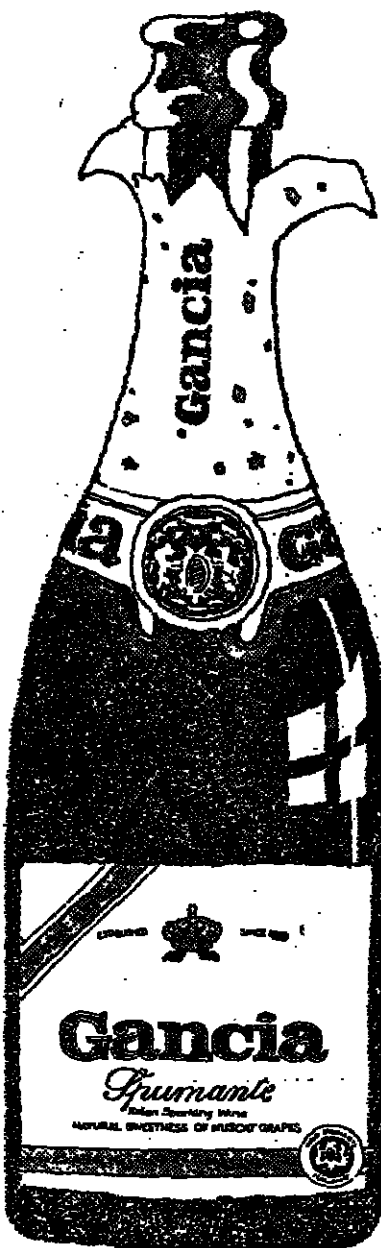
THE BBC is urged by a Tory MP today to drop its 16½ hours a day of school broadcasts and to hand the duty over to private enterprise who can make a better job of it with modern tape recorders and cassettes, writes James Margach.

The proposal is made to the BBC Chairman, Lord Hill, by Mr Wilfred Proudfoot, MP for Brighouse and Spensborough, who says that radio programmes for schools are a hangover from the days before tape recorders.

Mr Proudfoot says that the changeover would not only release 16½ hours a day of airtime for other uses, it would also give teachers greater flexibility in planning their lessons.

"I would like to see the school programmes 'hived-off' private enterprise," he says. These hours could be fitted together by programmes aimed at the individual, rather than institutions, the latter being a to invest in the more adaptable media of cassettes.

"And Gill's husband didn't even remember theirs."



A taste of extravagance. Rather more than a pound.



min share-out: an Indian field worker for the Save the Children Fund distributes tablets to Bengali refugees at Salt Lake camp near Calcutta

Picture: Penny Tweedie

UN wrangles over 9,744,404 Pakistani refugees

Stephen Fay reports a dispirited debate in New York

A informed the United Nations last week that by November 2 the number of Pakistani refugees to cross the border had reached the astonishingly precise figure of 9,744,404. Nevertheless, an Indian official told the UN that nothing could be done which might end its "territorial integrity" and the organisation's 129 members looked tediously for the least means of compromise to deal with the most friable political problem in the world today.

Social and Humanitarian Committee of the UN, known as the Third Committee, began its debate on the India-Pakistan problem Thursday: it was the first since March that the world had debated it.

In hours, the reason why it had been so scrupulously avoided for so long became clear: Indian and Pakistani dele-

gates stated quite simply that positive proposals were not going to be popular with the principals in the struggle. "The UN can never be better than the lowest common denominator," said one observer sadly.

But there were other observers, primarily from the UN agencies, who believed that the Third Committee's debate was crucial to the future of the organisation. "If they let this one go, they will have missed their mission," said one UN official about the national representatives who were drily discussing the plight of the refugees.

As the Swedish delegate noted, the refugees now outnumber the

respective populations of many of the member nations of the UN. The committee had before them a resolution proposed by Holland and New Zealand. Hammered out by them in co-operation with bodies like Oxfam and War on Want, it appealed to governments, inter-governmental agencies and non-governmental organisations "to intensify their efforts to assist, directly or indirectly, in relieving the suffering of the refugees in India and of the people of East Pakistan."

Sadrudin Aga Khan, the UN's High Commissioner for Refugees, revealed on Thursday that, by November 16, U Thant's appeal for aid had brought in pledges amounting to \$57 million—\$40 million of it in cash; aid from all sources now totals \$103 million. But the World Bank estimates that in this financial year alone, India needs \$290 million to deal with the Pakistani refugees. Still, as one UN official points out: "They've raised more money in six months than our budget for a year."

But the desire to make a concrete pledge to raise the rest seemed to diminish under pressure of debate. The one paragraph embodying the resolution

may have been acceptable to most nations, but the paragraphs succeeding it which called upon Pakistan to reach a political settlement in East Pakistan which would tempt the refugees back, and called upon India, somewhat optimistically, "to continue to promote an atmosphere of good neighbourliness," were too much for India, Pakistan and their allies.

Nor were the big powers in any mood to contradict them. The British, for instance, were not going to offer a hostage to fortune by pushing for an internal

political settlement in Pakistan. Some scoundrels might, after all, try the same trick on Britain by demanding a political settlement in Ulster.

So, at the end of the first day's debate, the Tunisian Ambassador, Rachid Driss, proposed a compromise which stated that "the President of the General Assembly should launch an appeal calling upon the governments concerned to display the spirit of co-operation and understanding which alone can help reduce tensions."

Even this, however, was un-

acceptable to India which insisted that as the problem of Pakistani refugees was not one for which it was responsible, it should not be included in the Tunisian resolution's plural reference to "the governments concerned."

Sane men might have quit at that point; but the diplomats pushed on. The Dutch and the New Zealanders said that they would not withdraw their own proposal in favour of something as impotent as Mr Driss's compromise. The Finns and the Norwegians, led by an anxious Finnish Ambassador, Max Jakobson, looking for support in his campaign to succeed U Thant, started

to sell a compromise that concentrated only on the humanitarian aspect of the Indo-Pakistan situation.

In the corridors outside the committee room, diplomats shrugged and said that of course it was impossible to divorce the humanitarian from the political in East Pakistan. But they thought that if the UN was to do anything worthwhile it would have to give the impression of believing that the two aspects of the problem could be treated separately. And so they probably will be on Monday when the votes are taken. A UN employee said sadly during a break in the debate: "You must be thinking 'Surely the UN can do better.' But it probably can't." But if it can't, it is in spite of, not because of, the dispirited body of international civil servants who run it.

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What a blessing it is when you know you have £100-00 in cash coming in every month when you have to go into hospital. You get your £100-00 a month in cash—tax free*—as long as you are confined in hospital. You are covered from the very first day—even for life, if necessary!

Now, this plan from London & Edinburgh enables you to enjoy this protection at once. The first month's cover for your entire family is just 10p. During this introductory period you can decide to continue your enjoyment of the EXTRA CASH PLAN's advantageous premiums.

The added protection you NEED!

All benefits of this £100-00 a month plan are paid directly to you, in cash, in addition to any Company, Union, National Health, BUPA or PPP benefits you receive. You are free to use these tax-free* payments in any way you see fit: private medical care, rent or mortgage repayments, to replace your savings. This £100-00 is yours entirely—with no strings attached.

We can never cancel your policy!

You can rely on this wonderful protection no matter how old you become or how many times you collect from us. Your policy guarantees that we can never cancel your protection for any reason whatsoever. It is Guaranteed Renewable for Life! In addition, your rates can never be raised unless there is a general rate adjustment on all policies in this series.

And that's not all—this policy...

PAYS £100-00 a month in cash for each accident or illness which puts you in hospital. Cover for accidents begins at once. After your policy is in effect for 30 days, you are covered immediately for all sicknesses that originate thereafter.

PAYS £100-00 a month in cash regardless of age, even when you're 65 or over—and even for life if necessary. And, of course, you collect your benefits from the very first day you are in hospital, whether for sickness or accident.

PAYS £100-00 a month in cash if a child covered by the policy goes into hospital through injury or illness. Cover begins the very first day in hospital. And the benefits continue for as long as necessary.

PAYS £400-00 a month in cash in hospital when both husband and wife are in hospital at the same time for accidental injury for as long as both remain in hospital—and covers you even for life, if necessary.

PAYS up to £1,000-00 in cash for complete accidental loss of limbs or eyesight.

Double Cash Accident Benefit

If you and your insured wife are in hospital at the same time for an accident injury, this EXTRA CASH PLAN pays you an extraordinary double cash benefit. You receive not £100-00 but £200-00 a month. Your wife receives not £100-00 but £200-00 a month. That's £400-00 in cash payments every month, starting the day you enter the hospital for as long as you both remain there.

Pays you up to £1,000-00 in cash for these accidental losses

The accidental loss of limbs or eyesight can be terrible. But if such loss occurs any time within 90 days of the accident, you collect £500-00 for the complete loss of a hand or a foot or the sight of an eye—and £1,000-00 for loss of two limbs or the sight of both eyes.

Waiver of premium benefit

Should you—the policyowner—be in hospital for 8 consecutive weeks or more, this London & Edinburgh EXTRA CASH PLAN will pay all premiums that come due for you and all Enrolled Members of your family while you are confined to hospital beyond the initial 8-week period. And your protection continues just the same, as if you were paying the premiums yourself. This means you pay no premiums, yet your full protection remains in force for as long as you are in hospital.

These are the ONLY exclusions!

Your London & Edinburgh plan covers every kind of sickness or accident except conditions caused by: war or any act of war or civil strife; any mental disease, illness or disorder; pregnancy, miscarriage or childbirth; abortion; intoxication or the influence of any narcotic unless administered on the advice of a doctor. After your policy has been in force for 2 years or more, we even pay benefits arising from illnesses or accidents incurred before the Effective Date of your Policy.

You may be surprised to learn that we will actually issue this policy to you even if you have a health problem right now, and even if it's a serious one. Yes it's true! If you are sick before you take out this policy, you will even be covered for that condition after the policy has been in effect for 2 years. Meanwhile, of course, every new condition is covered.

Fills the gap in State Benefits

London & Edinburgh now offers you this remarkable plan that has swept the United States, because we firmly believe that the protection it offers will be equally welcomed by the British public. You can judge how popular this plan is in the United States from the fact that just one U.S. insurance company is issuing new policies at the rate of one million a year. That's why we are convinced, as we are sure you will be, that it really does fill the big gaps that exist in State benefits, BUPA or other private insurance schemes.

Act now to assure the fastest possible cover

As soon as we receive your Enrolment Form we will rush your policy to you by First Class Post. When your policy arrives, examine it in the privacy of your own home. You'll be pleasantly surprised to see there is no "small print". Show it, if you wish, to your insurance broker, bank manager, accountant, solicitor, doctor, or some other trusted adviser.

Here are your premiums

The following premium chart shows how little it costs after the first month to enrol yourself, your wife and any family dependants. Simply add the monthly premium which applies to each person in each age bracket and the sum is the monthly premium payable for the total cover. Naturally at these rates, we can issue only one policy in this series for each family.

Members under the age of 18 covered by their parents' or guardians' policy will be protected under their own policy (regardless of their health) when they reach 18 at the rate then in effect for their age group.

Age	Monthly Premium
0-17	£0-65
18-39	1-00
40-54	1-30
55-64	1-55
65-74	2-00
75-84	2-70
85 & Over	3-35

Note: The regular monthly premium shown here (for age at time of enrolment) will never increase as you pass from one age bracket to the next! Once you have enrolled in this London & Edinburgh EXTRA CASH PLAN, the only way we can change your premium is if we change it for policies in this series, it has nothing whatever to do with how much or how often you collect from us or your advancing age.

Act NOW - "later" may be too late!

Just 10p covers you and your family for first month. Time is precious! Act quickly. (No salesman will call.) Get your Enrolment Form and only 10p into the post today—because once you suffer an accident or sickness, it's too late to buy protection at any cost. That's why we urge you to act today—before anything unexpected happens.

MONEY BACK GUARANTEE

We will send your London & Edinburgh EXTRA CASH PLAN policy by post. Examine it carefully in the privacy of your own home. Show it, if you wish, to your insurance broker, bank manager, accountant, solicitor, doctor or some other trusted adviser. If you decide, for any reason, that you don't want to continue as a member of this plan, return the policy within 15 days of the date you receive it, and we will promptly refund your money. Meanwhile, you will be fully protected while making your decision!

John W. Dennis

Director

London & Edinburgh Life Insurance Company Ltd.



LONDON & EDINBURGH LIFE INSURANCE CO. LTD.

Pembroke House, 44 Wellesley Road, Croydon CR9 3QN, Tel: 01-686 0837/8/9.

Your questions answered about this EXTRA CASH PLAN

Q 1. How much will I be paid when I go into hospital?

A You will receive cash at the rate of £100-00 a month (£3-33 a day). And you collect in cash for an accident or illness even if you're in hospital for only one day. And benefits are paid in full for as long as you're in hospital... even for life.

Q 2. Do you pay me in cash when my children go to hospital?

A Yes we do! You collect in cash at the full monthly rate whenever any of your enrolled children (age 1 month to 17 years) go into hospital.

Q 3. When do I start to collect hospital benefits?

A This new plan covers you from the very first day for accidents. After your policy is in effect for 30 days, you are covered immediately for all sicknesses that originate thereafter—even for life, if necessary! Payments are made direct to the policyowner. Since we provide lifetime benefits, this 30 day qualifying period enables us to give you broad cover at a lower cost than would otherwise be possible.

Q 4. What if my wife and I are injured in an accident and go into hospital at the same time?

A You both receive bonus payment if this happens. Yes, this plan pays you benefits at the rate of not £100-00, not £200-00, but £400-00 in cash every month—for as long as both of you remain in the hospital—even for life!

Q 5. Are there any other cash benefits I can collect?

A We pay you £500-00 in cash for complete loss of one hand or one foot or sight of one eye as the result of an accident, and £1,000-00 in cash for loss of both hands or both feet or sight of both eyes—even if it happens as long as 90 days after the accident.

Q 6. Will you pay me in addition to what I receive from other health plans?

A Of course we will! That's the beauty of your London & Edinburgh plan. No matter what benefits you receive from National Health or private health plans, we still pay you cash benefits at the rate of £100-00 a month—even for life, if necessary. So even if other insurance has taken care of all your medical bills... you still have that tax-free* cash income from this London & Edinburgh EXTRA CASH PLAN. What a blessing that can be.

Q 7. How can I use my cash benefits?

A Use the money any way you choose. Use it to pay for living expenses like rent, food, clothing. Or put it in the bank to replace any income you lost during your stay in hospital. Or use it to provide the comforts and amenities in hospital such as television, private room, which are often just as important to recovery as good medical care. Remember that the money is paid to you to use as you feel best.

Q 8. Suppose I'm in hospital for a long time and can't meet my premium payments?

A If you—the policyowner—are in hospital for eight consecutive weeks or more, London & Edinburgh EXTRA CASH PLAN will pay all premiums that come due for you and all Enrolled Members of your family while you are confined to the hospital beyond this initial eight-week period. This includes all premiums—for every Enrolled Member. Even if you are in for months, a year—for life. Thanks to the Waiver of Premium feature in your policy, we pay all premiums for you as long as you are in hospital. You simply go right on collecting your full £100-00 a month cash benefits just as if you were paying the premiums yourself.

Q 9. Now tell me, what's the "catch"—what doesn't my Policy cover?

A Your policy covers everything except conditions caused by: war or any act of war or civil strife; any mental disease, illness or disorder; pregnancy, miscarriage or childbirth; abortion; intoxication or the influence of any narcotic unless administered on the advice of a doctor; any illness or injury you had before the Effective Date of your policy—but even this last "exclusion" is done away with after you've been a policyholder for only two years. Everything else is definitely covered.

Q 10. Does this plan pay in any hospital?

A You are covered for care in any hospital of your choice, in any part of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland with the exception of non-registered nursing and convalescent homes or similar types of facilities.

Q 11. What are the requirements to enrol in this plan?

A You must not have been refused or had cancelled any health, hospital or life insurance due to reasons of health; and you must fill in and post the enrolment form with your first month's premium of 10p.

Q 12. Will you cancel my policy if I have too many claims? Or because of advanced age?

A No—positively not! Only you can cancel. The Company cannot—no matter how many claims you have... how old you become... or for any other reason whatsoever. A Guaranteed-Renewable-for-Life clause has been printed right in your policy, and we're bound by it.

Q 13. Besides saving money—are there any other advantages to joining this plan?

A Yes, a very important one is that you don't need to complete a lengthy, detailed application—just the brief Enrolment Form in the corner of this page. It doesn't ask for a medical examination, and it doesn't set an age limit. Also, there are no extra requirements for eligibility, and no "waiters" or restrictive endorsements that can be put on your policy!

Q 14. Are my benefits truly tax-free?

A Yes, since the concessionary practice of the Inland Revenue is not to tax insurance benefits for up to one year of hospital confinement.

Q 15. How do I apply?

A Fill out the brief Enrolment Form and post it with just 10p for the first month's protection for your entire family.

£50-00 extra protection will be offered

If you feel that £100-00 per month does not cover your needs sufficiently, you will be offered an opportunity to obtain £50-00 extra per month cover once you become a policyholder.

Here's all you do to receive your policy: 1 Complete this brief Enrolment Form. 2 Cut out along dotted line and POST WITH 10p.

OFFICIAL ENROLMENT FORM

LONDON & EDINBURGH LIFE INSURANCE COMPANY LTD.
Pembroke House, 44 Wellesley Road, Croydon, CR9 3QN. Telephone: 01-686 0837/8/9.

for the EXTRA CASH PLAN

MR. Name (Please Print) MRS. Christian Name(s) Surname

Address

Date of Birth Day Month Year Male ☐ Female ☐

List all family dependants to be covered under this Plan: (DO NOT include name that appears above. Use separate sheet if necessary.)

Name (Please Print)	Relationship	Sex	Date of Birth		
			Day	Month	Year
1					
2					
3					
4					
5					

I hereby enrol in London & Edinburgh's EXTRA CASH PLAN and am enclosing 10p as the full first month's premium to cover myself and all other Enrolled Members listed above. Neither I, nor, to the best of my knowledge and belief, any other person listed above has been refused or had cancelled any health, hospital or life insurance cover due to reasons of health. I understand that this Policy will become effective when issued and that pre-existing health and accident conditions will be covered after two years.

Signature Date

سكندرية



Portrait of Prince Charles, Duke of Cornwall, by Derek Hill. The portrait, which will hang in the Old Kitchen, was painted last year. It will hang in the Old Kitchen, where the Prince's reception area, opposite a portrait of the Prince's father, King George VI.

Few homes face poison earth risk

By Paul Williams

TISTS have discovered health hazards from lead in the soil at two big sites which have been earmarked for development. The sites are at Leicester and Croydon, formerly sewage farms and are from the Ministry of Agriculture. The Ministry has found that soil at a dangerously high lead level may contain other metals. But despite health risks, the sites may be developed.

The Ministry of Agriculture has said: "Sludge tends to rate lead and other heavy metals." The scheme at South Croydon has already been approved by the local authority. It is one of the last big urban London which can be developed for housing.

The Ministry of Agriculture is involved when investigating the possibility of putting sludge on the site. The normal level in soil is less than 100 parts per million. But in Croydon, tests showed lead levels of 1,300 and 6,000 parts per million plus zinc and copper. The Ministry says there are no allotments on the site.

Professor Bryce-Smith, a lecturer at Reading University, was "absolutely appalled" when he was given the lead figures. "That is not earth, it is ore," he said.

Dr. Bryce-Smith's Medical Officer of Health, Dr S. L. Wright, says that lead contamination is low enough on 11 of the site's 75 acres to allow "general building, including houses with gardens." On the other 28 acres, which have so far received planning permission it is intended to put flats and maisonettes without gardens, a school and playing fields or offices.

In Leicester, a campaign is building up to try to stop development of the 2,000-acre site, called Beaumont Leys, destined to become a satellite town. The Ministry scientists discovered a lead content of 120 to 1,197 parts per million at Beaumont Leys following requests by farmers for soil tests when cattle on the site became ill after eating crops grown there.

Professor Bryce-Smith was one of four experts consulted by Leicester's health committee chairman, Mrs Janet Setchfield, who is leading Labour's fight to get the scheme at least delayed.

Mrs Setchfield said: "A Dr Bostock from the Health Department came down to see us. When we sent him the results of the city analyst's tests he wrote saying he did not think there was a health hazard, but the rest of the area must be tested."

Now she has ordered more extensive tests—but the sale of £750,000 worth of land has gone ahead.

'We sell freezers to silly geezers'

Denis Herbstein
tells a cautionary
tale of Mr
Carter (ex IOS)

HOUSEWIVES are facing a new breed of door-to-door salesman. The patter is slicker, the literature is brighter—and the product is new. Home freezers will be to the Seventies what washing machines were to the Sixties: the domestic appliance no modern home can afford to be without and which kind salesmen are only too willing to supply.

Unfortunately—there are one or two catches. One firm, now establishing itself with eyes firmly fixed on this promised land, offering a freezer which, when all the strings have been attached, costs up to £259. Similar ones can be bought from the shops for only £112. The odd thing is that it all begins with the salesman promising to save you money. But that is before the word "freezer" even comes into it.

"The Company," explains the man from Home Shoppers Plan on the telephone to the housewife, is part of a large group of food wholesalers supplying to quality food direct to the home at up to 30 per cent off shop prices. We have recently extended our delivery service to your area and we wonder if you'd be interested in saving up to £22 or £23 on your food bill each week?

Sometimes the prologue is delivered on the doorstep, sometimes by pretty girls nobbling housewives outside supermarkets. "A Food survey," if the salesman is following the authorised script for telephone conversations, he goes on to ask about the potential customer's household. He's awfully pleasant about it, though. "Without being too personal," he says, "how much do you spend each week on food? That's fine, we can certainly save you money."

Then comes the important part of the salesman's "Smile and Dial" telephone manual. "Just one more thing," he says, "do you have a freezer?"

Say No, as most families must, and the salesman's script goes on relentlessly. "Oh, that is a shame because to take full advantage of this plan, you must have storage facilities. However, this is no problem as we can arrange to supply this without any capital outlay and at a low weekly cost and even including this we can still show you a saving."

If the customer is agreeable ("Don't worry," says the salesman, "the company won't be offended if you refuse an appointment is fixed. The salesman duly arrives and humbly unfolds an illustrated book which, he says, puts things in "the company's words rather than mine." It is a brightly coloured book with large print, pictures of happy families and neat graphs and lots of statistics. It is designed to hammer home the virtues of bulk buying.

Some customers, suitably overwhelmed, are ready to buy immediately. Then the salesman asks a question about the customer's full name and address. He fills in the answer. The sales manual takes up the story. "As long as (the customer) doesn't stop you [writing], he's bought. Then, when you get to the bottom of the form, ask him to 'OK it right here.' Never ask him to sign it."

Churchill technique

There are other sales techniques for the indecisive customer. The salesman could, for example, tell a story of why a salesman without a customer is miserable. Or a story about why someone who is a customer is happy. And then there is the Winston Churchill "Balance Sheet" technique.

"As you know, Sir, we have long considered Sir Winston Churchill as one of our wisest men. Whenever Sir Winston found himself in a situation such as you are in today, he felt pretty much as you do about it."

So the salesman brightly suggests that they draw up a Churchill-style balance sheet of pros and cons. The salesman helps all he can with the pros. "When you get to the 'No' side, you shut up," the manual advises.

"Then all you do is count up the columns out loud and when you finish say: 'Well, the answer is pretty obvious, isn't it Sir? What is your mailing address?'"

Even outright refusals can be turned into triumph. "When everything else has failed," says the manual, "when you get to the door, stop, hesitate, turn around and say: 'Pardon me, Sir, I wonder if you would help me for a moment? Before I go, I'd like to apologise for being so inept a salesman.'"

"You see, if I had been able to make you feel the way I feel about the Home Shoppers Plan, most of your cost of living worries would have already vanished. But I have failed and I want you to know that it is all my fault and I am truly sorry. Just so I don't make the same mistake again, would you mind telling me what I did that was wrong?"

The manual is in earnest. "It is vital when you use the apology that you truly mean it. If you don't, and are at all facetious about it, you will be quickly shown out. If you are sincerely sorry, and you should be, this technique will get you sales." Other useful tips follow. "Look liked," the manual suggests. "Very often (the customer) will say Yes because he honestly doesn't want to hurt your feelings."

THE ONE AREA which is not mentioned in the manual is the financial side of the transaction. But I learned about this when I joined an initial training course run by Home Shoppers Plan in Oxford Street, London.

It began with heady talk about our prospects. Pay would be £75 for three sales a week. Another two sales would bring a further £50 plus membership of "The Sale-a-Day Club" with "its own handsome, pure silk necktie." Incentives included promotion to top management, a Ferrari and holidays in Miami, but success would hinge on our ability to do the right sums.

We had to convince the customer that he would save money by bulk-buying. How much did he spend on food? More than £4 a week and you were laughing, for the Home Shoppers claim that their £25 food pack of meat, vegetables and fruit will feed a family of four for eight weeks—a saving of at least 80p a week.

After the £25 bill comes the freezer itself: £165 including three years parts, labour and service guarantee and three years food spoilage guarantee. We're up to £190 now, rather a lot but don't worry, the nice salesman has details of how to borrow the money. It is perfectly simple. Just one form and a quick check with a debt-chasing firm. But it does add £89 in interest over three years, making a grand total of £259.

It can be less, of course, if the housewife doesn't borrow the full amount but, as one of my fellow trainees murmured, the housewife might still say there were cheaper freezers on the market. Ray Grafflin, an American and one of the two lecturers, was not stuck for an answer. "If she asks during the initial presentation, ignore it. If she persists, then she is serious. So why not say 'Mrs Jones, do you think I wouldn't sell you a cheaper one if I didn't want to. This is the best at its price on the market which varies from £80 to £400. Phillips sell it at £175, we sell at £165'."

So what about value for money? The freezer, with 12.9 cubic feet capacity, is made by a reputable Finnish firm and certainly has a recommended retail price of £175. But freezers are generally marked down on recommended prices: one nearly identical freezer, with the same capacity, manufacturer and recommended price, can be bought for £112 across the road from the Home Shoppers Plan office in Oxford Street. Even interest would not bring the cost over £140.

Home Shoppers Plan will tell you, however, that their price at £165 also includes three year guarantees. Yet the £112 freezer is covered by guarantees which the Consumers' Association believes to be both adequate and typical. "Freezers are very reliable. We do not advise members to take out maintenance contracts," says an Association spokesman.

Which leaves the food pack itself. The food, whether in the firm's standard pack or the customer's own selection, is probably worth the £25. But would 10lb of potatoes and 6lb of cod in the "strongly recommended" standard pack really last an average family of four for eight weeks? And the claim that the standard pack provides a balanced diet of great nutritional value is described as "meaningless" by Dr John Yudkin, Professor of Nutrition at London University. The sales book also makes great play with statistics, showing how food loses much of its nutritional value within three days if it is not frozen. If anyone questions this, we were told, say the figures come from the magazine Which? But its publishers, the Consumers' Association, knows nothing about them at all.

Ed Carter is the general manager of the Home Shoppers Plan, which already claims more than 1,000 satisfied customers. He says: "I am very embarrassed to find things remis. I started here on September 21 and I was reluctant to go into this line. Freezers have a very bad name and I want to make selling honourable by professionalising it. If you have any suggestion to make, my door is open, I'm here to learn."



Home Shoppers' Ed Carter "Freezers have a bad name"

He says he will change the wording about nutrition. "That came over from Canada," he says. "I'll replace it with something that makes the point with accurate figures." He also promises to ensure that customers are not led to believe they are buying a genuine Philips freezer.

Mr Carter, mid-thirties, clean-cut, bespectacled, one time racing driver, was once a manager in the ill-fated IOS empire of Bernie Cornfeld. Much of his sales technique certainly has the IOS hall-mark. As he expressed his concern to me, a new training course was getting under way next door. And the lecturer was joking: "We sell freezers to silly geezers."

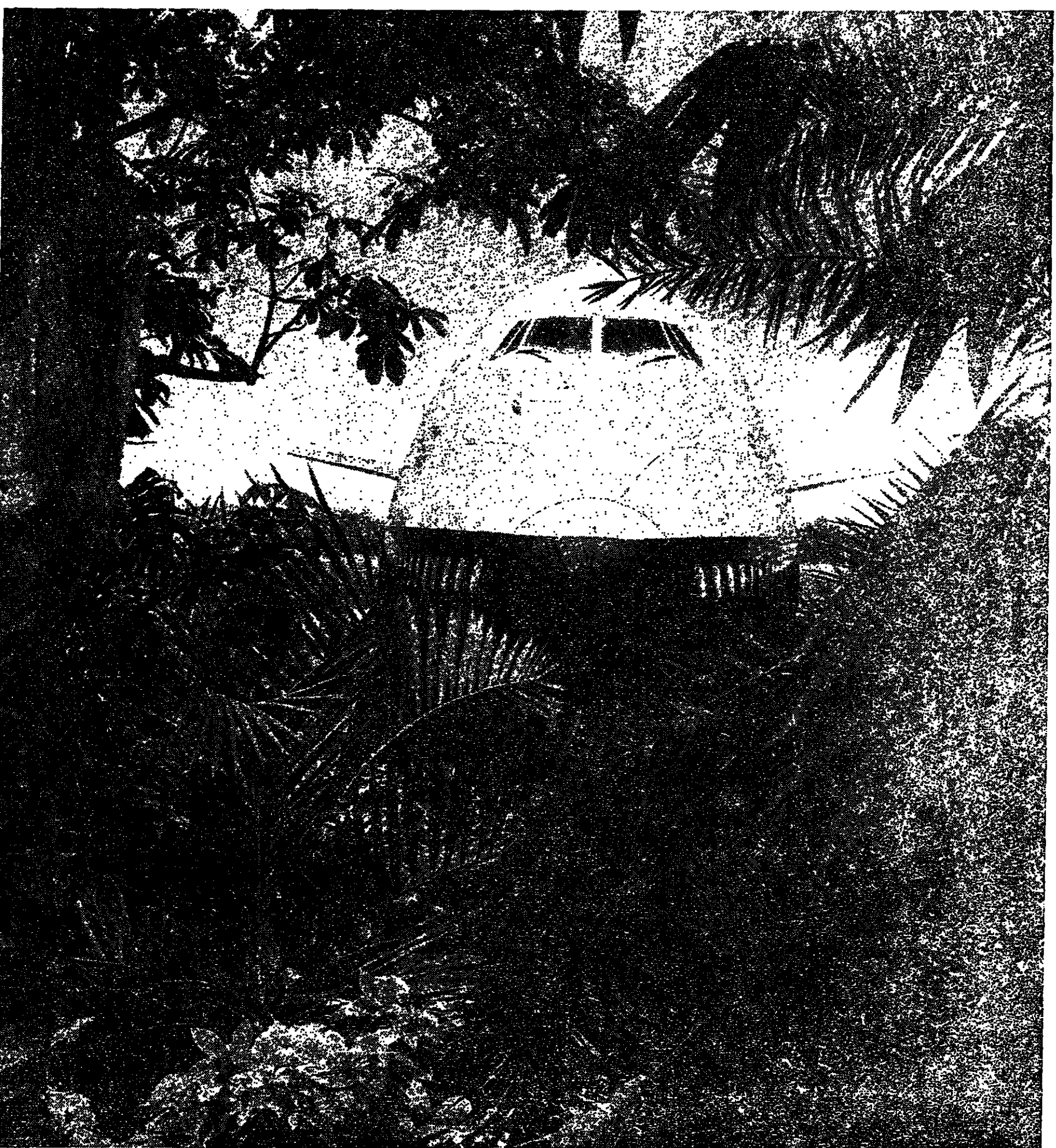


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THE ONE AREA which is not mentioned in the manual is the financial side of the transaction. But I learned about this when I joined an initial training course run by Home Shoppers Plan in Oxford Street, London.

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FOREIGN DIGEST

Boycott poll, Czechs told

UNDERGROUND opposition groups in Czechoslovakia are circulating leaflets which urge voters to boycott this week's national and local elections or to spoil their ballot papers, writes William Shawcross. The elections, due to take place in 1969, were postponed till this Friday and Saturday because of the "uncertain" political climate and their outcome is in no doubt: each constituency has only one official candidate, who is pro-Government and pro-Gustav Husak, the Communist Party leader.

Husak is using the elections to deliver him a vote of confidence that will symbolise his final victory over Dubcek's policy of "Socialism with a human face", and despite the activities of the Czech Underground, the official results of the poll are expected to show at least 90 per cent of the country in favour of the Husak line.

Over the past weeks 180,000 agitation activities have been operating throughout the country to make sure of this massive turnout. Each aktiv consists of two party members who visit houses in their neighbourhood and, according to the party paper, Rude Pravo, "invite citizens to vote for Socialism, for our even better future."

Lin Piao 'too weak to stay'

A study of the official Chinese Press suggests that the quarrel which may have led to the political demise of Marshal Lin Piao, whom Mao designated as his heir, took place in September and involved agricultural policy, writes Leo Goodstadt.

Radicals on the ruling Politburo, headed by Mao, wanted to start a drive to mechanise the nation's agriculture and to replace the peasants' collective ownership of their assets by some form of nationalisation. But army men, led by Chief of Staff Huang Yung-sheng and Air Force Commander Wu Fa-hsein, disagreed, partly because the moves would be unpopular with the peasants and partly because they would probably involve cuts in the military budget.

The radicals won the crucial vote and the two military leaders were discreetly removed from power. By October, judging by reports in China's provincial Press and on radio, the politburo had also decided that Lin Piao too should drop from sight since he could no longer guarantee that the army would unhesitatingly carry out Mao's directives.

'Black Jews' face expulsion

About 400 "Black Jews" from America, claiming to be the only true descendants of the biblical Israelites who they say were black men, face expulsion from Israel in the next few weeks, writes Eric Marsden.

They arrived with their families as tourists then applied to become immigrants. But the Israelis say they do not follow the Jewish religion and cannot prove their links with the Jewish people.

Most of the Black Jews live in the development town of Dimona in the Negev desert. The first group arrived via Liberia a few years ago and were regarded as a small eccentric sect. It was decided to allow them to stay rather than provoke charges of racial discrimination. But this year more and more families have arrived.

When the Left threatened Fidel

The official programme for Fidel Castro's visit to Concepcion in Chile was changed five times because of rumours of a student plot to kidnap him, writes Florencia Varas.

The kidnapping, it was reported, was being planned by the Movement of the Revolutionary Left, an ultra Left group. Most of Concepcion's 12,000 students are Left-wing yet they are surprisingly critical of Dr Allende, Chile's Marxist President, who they consider is dragging his heels on revolution. Ironically the Communist Party, which backs the President, has been forced into a moderate position.

Thai ban on new parties

Thailand's revolutionary party, which came to power in a bloodless coup last Wednesday, dissolved all opposition political parties yesterday and banned the establishment of new ones.

The party also approved a \$8m budget for 1972, based on one drafted by the old government, and met to work out plans for replacing Thailand's electoral machine. The most likely change will be a new type of national election instead of elections in territorial electoral districts.

Vorster police arrest whites

The pattern of South African security police arrests changed significantly last week, writes Benjamin Pogrand. Most of the dozen or so people arrested were young white students and lecturers instead of Indians.

Meanwhile there is no news of two British commercial photographers, Quentin Jacobson and David Smith, detained at the start of the month.

Picasso action

Pablo Picasso's 22-year-old illegitimate daughter Paloma has started a legal action at Grasse, France, to secure "legal recognition."

—Reuter

Bid to break rich grip on White House

By Godfrey Hodgson, Washington



Oklahoma's Harris: broke

A PLAN to give an equal hand-out of \$8 million of public money to the Democrat and the Republican candidate in next year's presidential election campaign will come to a vote in the US Senate tomorrow—with President Nixon working furiously behind the scenes to get it turned down.

It is not the taxpayer he is worrying about. The plan is a threat to him, because it would do a great deal to take away the enormous campaign advantage held by his Republican Party, which has the vast majority of American millionaires and big corporations behind it when the fund-raising chips are down.

As soon as the plan was put forward by the Democrats in the Senate, where they have a strong majority, the Republicans began a bitter fight to block it with amendment after amendment. The Republican leader in the Senate, Senator Hugh Scott, denounced the proposal as "a tax-grab or bail-out or slush fund."

Senator Scott hoped to drag out the debate indefinitely. But yesterday he yielded and agreed to have a deciding vote tomorrow. President Nixon instantly gave up a weekend break in Florida and flew back to Washington, hoping to persuade enough conservative-minded Southern senators to come over to his side to defeat the plan.

If the plan does pass through Congress, it can still be vetoed by Nixon. But that would be embarrassing for him. He would be too obviously acting to preserve the Republicans' great money-raising advantage. Like the Tories in Britain, the Republicans feel a bit defensive about their money-bags reputation.

Besides, there is growing concern at the rocketing cost of electioneering and the influence this gives to the big contributors. Congressman Wayne Hays of Ohio is one of several Congressmen who have introduced Bills to limit the amount of political contributions and to force disclosure of who contributes how much to whom. The existing law, which

dates back to 1925, has been described as one big loophole. There is, in short, almost as much concern now over the buying of candidates as over the "selling" of them in vast public campaigns. The reported cost of the 1968 Presidential election was \$44.2m (£18.4m)—more than seven times what it was in 1940. More realistic estimates suggest that the true cost to all presidential candidates was something like \$30m.

The reform now proposed would cover cost of the campaigns from the time the candidates are nominated next summer until election day next November. The authors of the plan admit that it is only a half-way stage to neutralising the influence of money, for it matters just as much in the primary stage of the campaign.

Only the other day, Senator Fred Harris of Oklahoma, an attractive liberal Democrat who had officially announced his candidature, was forced to retire at this early stage because, as he bluntly put it, he was "broke."

He had put himself in debt to the tune of \$40,000 (£16,000) over and above the \$250,000 (£104,000) he had managed to raise from investment bankers.

And this is chicken-feed by the standards required to travel all over the United States with the necessary political staff, to mail out publicity, buy public

opinion polls and pay for time on television. Senator Henry Jackson, of the state of Washington, who announced his own candidacy for the Democratic nomination yesterday, calculates that it will cost him a million dollars (\$418,000) just to run in the first-round primary elections.

One obvious consequence of the mounting cost of electioneering is the advantage it gives to candidates like the Kennedys and Rockefeller, who have large private fortunes. In the 1970 mid-term elections, 11 of the 15 men who ran for the Senate in the seven biggest states were millionaires. The other four lost.

In 1968, 11 wealthy families alone—Du Ponts, Fields, Fords, Harrimans, Lehmanns, Mellons, Olin, Pews, Rockefellers, Vanderbilts and Whitneys—contributed \$3,122,000 (£1,300,000) between them to political candidates. Of that total, all but \$81,000 went to Republicans. There is a clear danger that contributors, individual or collective, will demand their pound of flesh when their man is elected.

It is not only Republican millionaires who expect to receive some consideration for their views in return for their money. There was a comic episode last week when 60 liberal democratic millionaires in New York held a lunch at the extremely expensive 21 Club to discuss how they could use their money to influence candidates. Then backed off hurriedly when the story leaked out.

"As soon as you get this sort of thing in the newspapers," one of them complained, "it's terrible. We can't meet in a goldfish bowl like that. It sounds as if we're going to try to buy a president."

There is a growing sentiment among politicians themselves that, secretly or in a goldfish bowl, that should not be allowed. Whether a simple gift of \$8 million of public money to each of the two candidates of the two major parties is the best way to go about it is another matter. Next year, America may have a chance to find out.

CIA plot to oust top French spy?



Cusack: moved on

A VERBAL timebomb was dropped into the Franco-American dispute on drug trafficking on Friday night when a former French Ambassador to Uruguay, Col. Roger Barbarot, alleged in a broadcast on Radio Luxembourg that a drug smuggling ring exists inside the French Secret Service.

This sensational charge brings right into the open the long, muffled but vituperative battle between the rival Secret Services of the United States and France dating back to the 'sixties. Last week charges were made by a Federal Grand Jury in Newark, New Jersey, that the director of France's intelligence network in America was involved in smuggling \$5 millions worth of drugs into America earlier this year.

Security authorities in Paris claim this is a ploy, engineered by America's Central Intelligence Agency to oust a too efficient a rival, namely Col Paul Fournier, the senior French intelligence officer named in the indictment. (Fournier, incidentally is believed to be a cover name.)

The Americans for their part have threatened that, if the French authorities take no action against Col Fournier, they will name further senior French intelligence officers allegedly involved in the drug-running. Fournier is based in Paris.

This September the Sunday Times revealed that 80 per cent of the heroin reaching America comes from Turkey via Marseilles where it is processed. The Americans have long accused the French of reluctance to clamp down on the Marseilles traffickers and hinted at protection in high places. The indictment of Fournier is clearly, in part, a bid to force the French to act.

But the French have so far played things remarkably coolly. Mr Debré, the Defence Minister,

has given Fournier permission to make a public statement categorically denying the American allegations.

The colonel, a Gaullist, had a distinguished career in the last war and he has been a member of the SDECE (Service of Exterior Documentation and Counter Espionage) for 25 years. Moreover, he was not affected by a recent drastic purge of the French Secret Service carried out by the new head of the SDECE, Count Alexandre de Marenches, to eliminate criminal elements plus some of the more violently anti-American members of French intelligence.

American allegations are based on statements made by Mr Roger Xavier Delouette, an ex-member of the French Intelligence Service and a former subordinate of Col Fournier. Mr Delouette served in Cuba and Africa under the cover of an "agricultural consultancy" before being discharged two years ago for alleged unreliability.

Last April he was arrested at Port Elizabeth, New Jersey, after customs officers received a tip that a minibus sent to the US from France in a cargo ship contained 96 pounds of heroin hidden behind false panels. Mr Delouette then made his "confessions" and revelations about drug trafficking to the US authorities in return for immunity from criminal proceedings.

Since the row between the US and French authorities came into the open, Mr John Cusack, head of the US Government's Anti Narcotics Bureau in Europe, has been transferred to "a more senior post" in Washington. Mr Cusack spearheaded the charge against the French authorities hushing up top-level complicity in drug-running.

Antony Terr

NO SMOKING FASTEN SEAT BELTS

Funny how nobody argues.

During 1970 only nine British registered aircraft working on scheduled passenger flights were involved in accidents.

Most of them comparatively minor. Nobody was killed.

Thank goodness. And only five people were injured.

It's also estimated that there were at least 1½ million accidents on British roads in the same period.

And they weren't all minor.

According to the Royal Society for the Prevention of Accidents 7,501 were killed: goodness knows how many were injured.

Perhaps it's fear. Perhaps it's

conditioning. Perhaps it's simply because we're asked to. But the fact remains, we willingly protect ourselves in an aircraft, yet many of us remain unwilling to do so in a car. In spite of the facts.

Which is far from funny.

After all, we're obliged by law to fit seat belts to all cars made since 1965.

Surely we don't need another law, obliging us to fit the seat belts round our bodies.

To stop us senselessly injuring and disfiguring ourselves. Or what is even more disturbing, clumsily committing suicide.

We at the Prudential want you to have a future.

For, apart from transacting motor insurance, our business is also life.

And, whilst our life policies give your family financial protection if you die, most of them can make provision for you if you live.

And we want you to live, to collect and enjoy what you've saved. Plus the bonuses that come with it. All of which adds up to another kind of protection that makes sense.

There are many Prudential representatives around, and a lot of telephone lines to local Prudential offices.

So why not invest in a financial safety belt, too? **Prudential**

Colonel Herbert: the humiliation of a war hero

By Godfrey Hodgson, Washington

EN I TALKED to Lt-Col Henry Herbert in Atlanta a week ago, what struck me was his absolute refusal to let himself be blamed for the US war in Vietnam.

No, sir," he kept saying with his hands. "Not the army. Just the individuals: not the army, not the army."

At that was before the army finally decided his case. I ask him how he feels now, and he says he is still proud to be what he was, a regular officer in the United States Army.

I talked to him before the army finally showed what it could do in the way of humiliating an individual. It was not once, as the representative of all it thought finest in American fighting men.

One point, Herbert was given a dead-end job on an army in Georgia as Capt Ernest N. who was acquitted of more than 100 murder charges out of the My Lai massacre.

Medina has subsequently been promoted to the rank of major. He is now in the recruiting posters, the Army has been his life.

He was the most decorated soldier in the American army in Korea: one Bronze Star, three Silver Stars, four Purple Hearts, and 18 other decorations. After the war, he was chosen to go on a world tour by the army's public relations department as a representative of the American soldier at his finest.

Today, he still looks the part—tall, lean, with a crewcut and quiet good manners. After Korea, he re-enlisted, went to officer training school, and began a career as the perfect fighting man. He was a Ranger, and they used his picture, looking ferocious, on the cover of the Ranger's training manual.

and 154 in the first half of this year. Fighting an unheroic war against guerrillas in the middle of a largely hostile population has always tested morale, and all the indices show how much more corrosive of morale the Vietnam War has become since the army began to wonder whether the country wanted it fought or not. The percentage of men AWOL (absent without official leave) for example, has more than tripled in five years to a staggering 180 per 1,000. Desertions have more than quadrupled, to 70 per 1,000, over the same period.

Robert Sherrill has described much of the legal consequences of this in a book whose title is well enough conveyed by its title: *Military Justice is to Justice as Military Music is to Music*. (The phrase comes from Clemenceau, who learned about mutiny at first hand in 1917).

What makes the Herbert case so interesting is that he is no reluctant draftee, but the cream of the American regular officer corps. He grew up in a poor family in the Pennsylvania coalfield, and volunteered for the Marines when he was 14. When he was 17, the Army accepted him. Since then, as they say in the recruiting posters, the Army has been his life.

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He became a Green Beret, and found time to get two university degrees. Early in 1969 he took command of a battalion of the crack 173rd Airborne Brigade in combat in Vietnam. In 58 days he won another seven medals. Then, at the beginning of April 1969, an officer's efficiency report arrived.

It was prepared by his superior, Colonel Franklin, and signed by him. It was the sort of report which left the general no alternative, had he wanted one, but to suspend Herbert, and for good measure the general recommended that he should never be allowed to command again.



Herbert, family man (with daughter) and Herbert, war veteran: "I don't blame the Army"

ing to the book in reporting them to Franklin at the time. In any event, on March 15 this year, Herbert preferred formal charges against both Barnes and Franklin. The charges against Franklin were dismissed on July 15, and those against Barnes were dismissed on October 15, "for lack of evidence."

Both Franklin and Barnes have gone to prestigious assignments. Herbert was assigned to recruiting. Remarkably, in the circumstances, he proceeded to achieve the best record of any re-enlistment officer in the United States. At the ceremony to reward this performance, however, someone else was handed the award, and Herbert was put in the back row.

Since then, Herbert has been given a series of humiliatingly unimportant jobs. He has been refused leave. The army has produced someone who says that Herbert once struck a Vietnamese civilian. But it has refused him and his lawyer permission to study 3,000 pages of transcripts of his own investigation. Just the other day, he was called in, after nearly 30 years in the army, and lectured like a recruit on how to salute.

Though despicable, this sort of treatment might be natural enough if Herbert's superiors really believed him to be an officer with an otherwise distinguished record who had unaccountably and wholly falsely accused two superiors. But there are disturbing indications that the army is not sure of this, and that Herbert is telling the truth: that he did witness atrocities, and did report them.

The army is not saying that no atrocities took place: only that the charges against Barnes and Franklin must be dismissed for lack of evidence in the particular cases which Herbert witnessed and which fell under the army's jurisdiction because Americans were involved. Privately, army investigators have told several reporters that they believe Herbert is telling the truth. And reporters have found Vietnam veterans who confirm his story.



Rhodesia: a sham or a failure?

By David Holden, Salisbury

LIKE ALL previous British negotiations with Ian Smith, last week's talks between the Rhodesian Prime Minister and Sir Alec Douglas-Home have turned into an old-fashioned cliff-hanger.

After the years of dispute, the months of Lord Goodman's intensive preparations and last week's detailed drafting sessions by officials, the firm proposals of both sides are at last on the table. What is at issue now is the political will of the two leaders to bridge the gaps that still exist between them.

An even after six hours of plenary session on Friday and yesterday, with a further private meeting between Sir Alec and Mr Smith yesterday morning, there was probably no man here—including the principals—who knew for certain what the outcome would be.

For outsiders as well as insiders, it is a nail-biting business in which any assessment could be proved wrong in a matter of hours. But this sense of real uncertainty has at least re-emphasised what many Rhodesians seemed lately to have forgotten—that optimism about a settlement has always been misplaced.

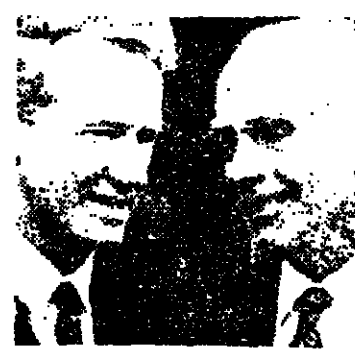
It is significant that the Rhodesia Herald ran a cautionary editorial yesterday, pointing out that although Sir Alec is no doubt ready to settle on terms that would offend African opinion here and liberal views around the world, there must be limits beyond which he cannot go.

Those limits, it seems, have now been reached. As far as one can see through the tight screen of secrecy that surrounds the talks, they are chiefly concerned with existing discriminatory legislation against African advancement—which means that they go to the heart of the Rhodesian position.

In particular, Sir Alec is insisting that changes must be made in the republican Constitution of 1969 and the Land Tenure Act of 1970, both of which are discriminatory in intent and practice.

The Constitution provides for separate electoral rolls for Africans and Europeans on terms that specifically exclude forever the possibility of majority rule. The Land Tenure Act divides Rhodesia 50-50 between 250,000 whites and more than five million blacks and provides a legal basis for many acts of racial discrimination, such as the current attempt by the regime to remove some 3,000 long-established African families from mission lands in the "white" areas.

Neither the Constitution nor the Act can be accommodated within the five British principles as they stand. The Constitution offends both the First Principle (unimpeded progress to majority rule) and the Fourth (an end



Two in a cliff-hanger.

to acts of racial discrimination). Principle also, and on any reasonable reading of the avowed British position, both laws would have to be substantially amended to meet the Third Principle, which calls for an immediate improvement in the political status of Africans.

Just to state those bald facts is to reveal the enormity—in Rhodesian terms—of the gap that remains to be bridged. The Constitution and the Land Tenure Act are the bedrock of Mr Smith's position. To tamper with them in any way will, to many in his party, seem a betrayal of the whole course of events since UDI.

To overturn their clear intent as Sir Alec must seek to do—even if that means only anticipating the possibility of majority rule by the turn of the century—will seem unthinkable. It is believed these attitudes were made abundantly clear when Sir Alec last Thursday met Sir Alec last Thursday.

The question now is: Will Mr Smith go against his party's wishes? He has never done so in previous negotiations, but there are good reasons for his doing so this time. Firstly, Rhodesia needs foreign capital investment that it is denied under present circumstances. Secondly, if these talks fail, Mr Smith may never again be able to use the prospect of a settlement as the bait with which to tempt recalcitrant members of his party back into line.

He will be under immediate pressure to get on (preferably towards Apartheid) or get out. On the other hand, as the Rhodesia Herald pointed out yesterday, the American decision to end the embargo on chrome purchases from Rhodesia has blown an irreparable hole in an already leaky sanctions programme. Sir Alec's weak hand is weakened further, Mr Smith's right-wing is cock-a-hoop. For the Rhodesian leader to make concessions at this moment of success might well be fatal for him: some observers here predict he would not survive another six months in office.

While Mr Smith weighs that balance in this week-end's crucial meetings, Sir Alec must weigh

another. Just how small a fig can he politically get away with? Is it better to return to London with a settlement that is patently a sham—for if he were to make any more concessions, that is what it would be—or to admit that Britain has failed, and will continue to fail, to impose her will on Rhodesia? Many Africans I talked to here last week have declared a preference for the second.

They would rather Britain withdraw altogether, abandoning sanctions and confessing frank defeat, than underwrite by a sham settlement a regime they detest. This is too sophisticated to be a characteristic view but it is one that seems to be growing in appeal: and Sir Alec certainly heard it from some of his numerous African visitors last week.

Conspicuously absent from his visitors until yesterday were the two former African nationalist leaders Joshua Nkomo and Nkomo's ally, Bishop. But last night Sir Alec had his long-awaited meeting with Mr Nkomo, brought under strict security precautions from the camp where he has been a political detainee for the last seven years. No details were released about the meeting, but rumour has it that Mr Nkomo, because of his lengthy detention, is no longer the man he was.

Sir Alec is not so unexpected to see Mr Sithole. Official sources here observe that he is in a different position from Mr Nkomo, as he was sentenced to imprisonment in 1969 on the criminal charge of incitement to murder the Prime Minister. Sir Alec, has, however, received a lengthy memorandum from Mr Sithole insisting, among other things, on no independence before majority rule.

The fact that Mr Nkomo has come so late into the picture probably reflects two things: The irrelevance at this stage of any nationalist proposals that Britain is powerless to impose, and the Rhodesians' determination not to have their critics say—in the event of a settlement—that they truckled to an African leader. For, if a settlement is reached, Mr Smith is going to need his fig leaves, too.

With the balance so fine on both sides, anything is possible, but the betting in Salisbury at the moment is tending towards failure.

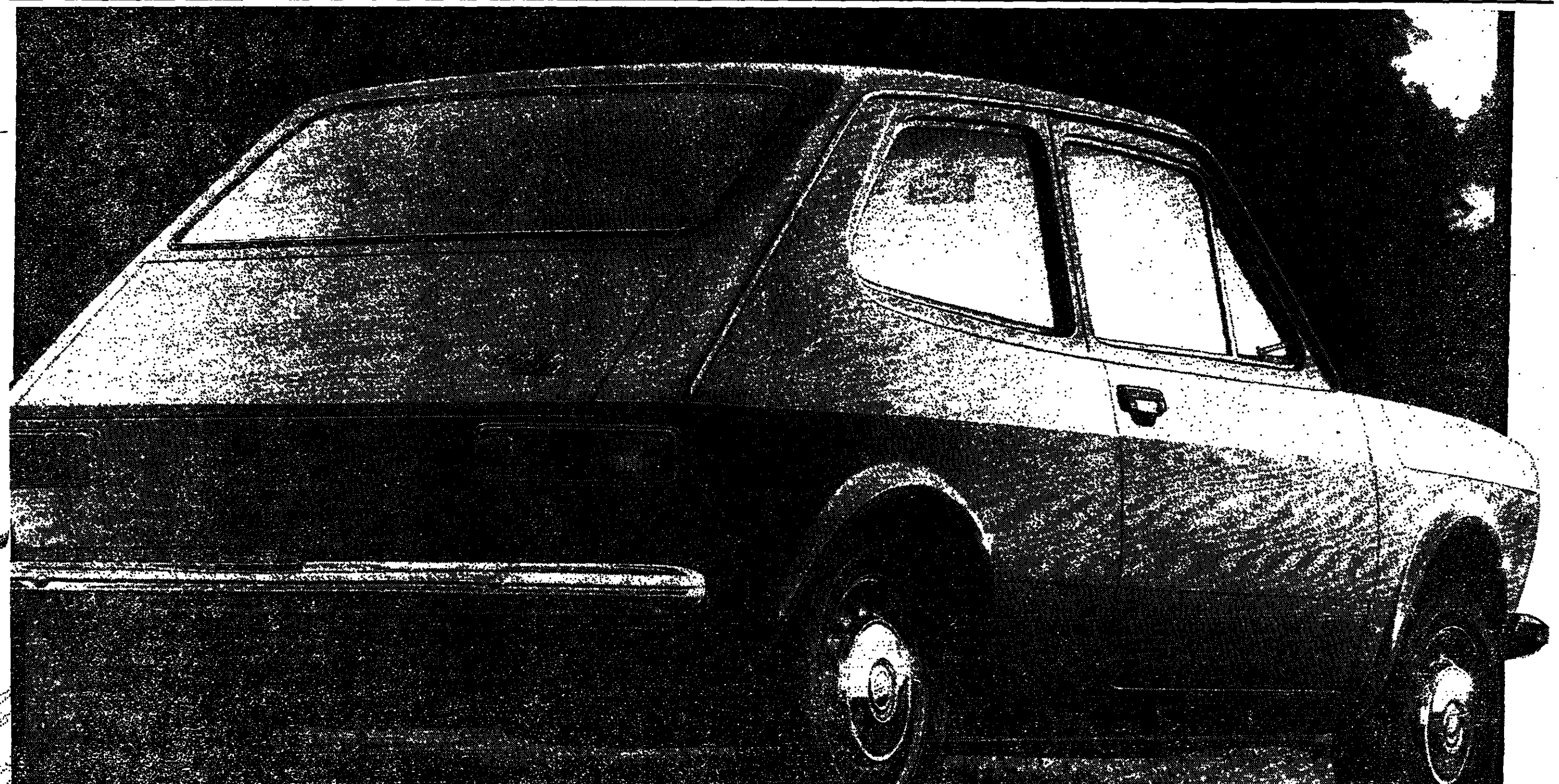
Someone here has recalled the moment on Fearless when Harold Wilson, who got so near and yet so far in his pursuit of a settlement with Mr Smith, drew a small neat square on a blank sheet of paper and pencilled inside it the figure 1. It would be entirely characteristic of Mr Smith now to take everyone back to square one

ihanouk looks to China

PRO-SIHANOUK forces in their grip on Cambodia edge closer to the capital of Phnom Penh, the deposed ruler, Prince Sihanouk, now in exile in Paris, said he was assured that he will support us totally."

Gemma Cruz Araneta, and that Chou had assured him he would tell President Nixon: "You should withdraw all your forces from Indochina and let the Indochinese peoples alone."

During the interview the Prince was cheerful and ebullient as ever, slightly tanned from his visits to the countryside and with a few strands of grey in his formerly blue-black hair. © Asian News Service 1971.



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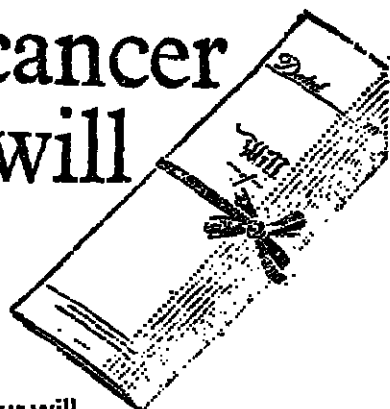
the gearbox is completely separate. Easy to get at. Like everything else under the bonnet. Including the spare tyre. And to satisfy the creature comforts one is entitled to expect from a truly modern car, there's flow-through heating and ventilation. Reclining front seats. And opening rear quarter lights. Which is more than can be said of any other car short of a thousand pounds plus. But then the 127 is remarkably civilized. Radials are standard. There's dual circuit braking with front discs and antilock device. Box-girder

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IMPERIAL CANCER RESEARCH FUND

Debate that fell flat

ON WEDNESDAY the House of Commons spent three hours debating the Compton Report. It should have been a memorable debate, for the ill-treatment (or brutality, or rigorous questioning) used against detainees in Northern Ireland is, to say the least, an important subject.

Yet all that remains vividly in the mind after all that talk is that Sir Harry Legge-Bourke has a grandfather who once horsewhipped a newspaper editor, and Mad Mitch—now Lieutenant-Colonel Colin Mitchell, MP for Aberdeenshire West—delivered a paean of praise for British military interrogators which included this classic of officer-like brusqueness: "One cannot have every loose jock interrogating prisoners."

Indeed we can't. But is this the only limit we are to place on judicial violence? And what is a loose jock, anyway? An ordinary Scottish soldier, apparently.

The problem, presumably, is that although it is an excellent idea for the Commons to debate great matters while they are still

fresh and important, the new Section Nine procedure which allows MPs to do so, seems to be too swift. Most MPs hadn't time to read the Compton Report.

Therefore most of the debate consisted of stock responses, angrily shouted to-and-fro. The Tories from military constituencies or backgrounds used the opportunity to curry favour with their voters, and Left-wingers or Irishmen used it as a convenient stick with which to beat the British Government.

It was left to two or three front-benchers and to Roy Hattersley, to try to explore what the debate should really have been about—how far Compton had revealed that British interrogators had gone too far in their "ill-treatment?" And beyond that: to what extent are the elected leaders of a country which tries to behave decently, even in virtual war situations, prepared to tolerate violence against imprisoned enemies?

Obviously, as everyone tacitly agreed, some violence must be used. This is necessary both to get the enemy into prison and then to persuade him to offer useful information once he's there. But how much violence? And what are the guidelines? And when does such violence begin to help the enemy more than the captors because he uses it for his propaganda?

The Home Secretary's argument was based on two lines of defence. Firstly, Mr Maudling

How Ulster internees are made to talk

Internees—new cruelty allegations

Sunday Times headlines of October 17 and 24.

declared that Compton had shown all the questioning procedures to be reasonable, except perhaps the so-called "interrogation" in depth of the 11 detainees. And here, he said, the information gained by the rough stuff was worth being rough.

Secondly, even if the Opposition found such questioning techniques bad, they were all conducted according to guidelines laid down in 1968, by the Labour Government. They had been previously used, in Malaya, in Borneo, in Aden—and who had protested then?

Denis Healey rose, and in the nearest which the debate got to a serious analysis of the situation, sought to explain that the guidelines about questioning prisoners merely laid down things which interrogators should not do. That is to say, they had defined the limits beyond which questioners should not go. Within these limits, who had told the troops and Special Branch to hood prisoners, to make them

lean against walls? Who had authorised that "monotonous sound"? Someone must have issued specific instructions.

Here Roy Hattersley scored a good point. If there was a vague area where troops could be specifically instructed, was it perhaps Stormont more than Westminster that was calling the tune? Had the standard of behaviour, perhaps, declined because different people were now issuing the orders?

Because of that—perhaps—the Army was progressively losing the Catholic population's confidence in the fact that it was still an impartial force.

The men who should have answered these questions summed up the debate. James Callaghan, with his great talent for sounding wise and judicious, managed at times to be both. He made it clear that in his opinion the Compton Report had shown that interrogation had gone too far, and whether this was called ill-treatment or brutality didn't matter too much.

Beyond that, he merely urged everyone to be worried about it, to urge Lord Parker and his Commission to think hard about what we were doing.

Beastly

And so to Lord Balmiel, Minister of State for Defence, who once again said that Compton had shown that, by and large, the Army and interrogators had behaved well. That in the tiny number of cases where prisoners had suffered "hardship" it hadn't been inflicted deliberately, and anywhere where it had, this had been done according to those 1968 guidelines. Northern Irish politicians had directed some of the actions, but the Westminster Government had agreed.

Lord Balmiel started to round off his argument; he sounded almost—as if he was going to do some proper summing up. But then Miss Bernadette Devlin stood up, and started shouting, and others shouted at her, and the Speaker was angry, and five minutes passed, and by the time it was over the noble Lord had no time to say anything except that IRA were beastly and the information obtained by the "ill-treatment" was valuable—which we knew before.

Still, there's another debate on the subject soon. Maybe MPs will have more time to get down to fundamentals then.

Nicholas Tomalin

Charges that stuck

ON OCTOBER 17 The Sunday Times published an article entitled "How Ulster internees are made to talk." It provoked bitter controversy and emergency Cabinet meetings in both Stormont and Westminster.

Various military experts asserted on television their disbelief of the allegations described. Lord Chalfont, for example, a former professional soldier and Minister in the last Labour Government, said on Panorama that the allegations suggested a degree of organised ill-treatment that did not have the ring of truth. He thought they showed "a certain amount of vivid imagination and a careful study of television programmes."

A letter from a Belfast reader (which we published) censured The Sunday Times for publishing the internees' "impossible fantasies of ill-treatment and beatings." On the day after the article appeared, The Times reported: "Mr Heath heard directly from Mr Faulkner, Prime Minister of Northern Ireland, that the charges are substantially without foundation."

It now appears that the allegations, contained in the original article, were substantially with foundation. In some respects they may have been understated.

On the basis of the official inquiry, headed by Sir Edmund Compton, and published last Tuesday, one can test the validity of those allegations. The original article referred in some detail to the experiences of 14 people arrested under the Special Powers Act.

The Compton inquiry confirmed the following aspects of the original story:

1. That 11 of the men named in our article did experience "in depth" interrogation for a period of six days at a centre in Northern Ireland.

2. That the interrogation methods, though largely conducted by Royal Ulster Constabulary personnel, were evolved by the Ministry of Defence.

3. That it was normal for these detainees to be kept hooded with black bags except when interrogated or alone in the rooms.

4. That they were required to stand against a wall (legs apart, leaning with hands raised up) for periods of four to six hours. The Compton report volunteers the information that the total period varied from 43½ hours in one case to nine hours in others.

Compton notes, however, that in one case mentioned in our article the wall-standing procedure may have been less

exhausting: Mr Patrick McCafferty "persisted in collapsing."

5. That for much of the detainees were afflicted by continuous electronic "music" contributed to their sense of isolation.

The Compton inquiry did confirm the following allegations in the original article:

1. That one of the 11, Mr Patrick Chivers, was deprived of food sleep for two or three days.

2. That during his interrogation Mr Bernard McGarry was repeatedly beaten about the stomach. Compton concluded that allegation was not substantiated.

3. That Mr William Shanahan, while detained at Police Headquarters in Palace Barracks, H. Wood, was denied proper treatment for his ulcer and beatings about the stomach. Compton notes that the medical officer at the time, Mr J. J. O'Connell, was appraised of Shanahan's suspected ulcer. The beating charge was not substantiated.

However, Compton did admit that when Shanahan was transferred to the more rigorous interrogation centre, medical examination revealed "a bruise on his back, his shoulder and his left side at level of the navel."

Compton offers no explanation for the injuries. At the interrogation centre Shanahan went through hooding and wall-standing routine for six days. This information was not contained in the original Sunday Times article.

4. That the "in-depth" interrogation took place at Holywood. Compton did not, however, where it did take place.

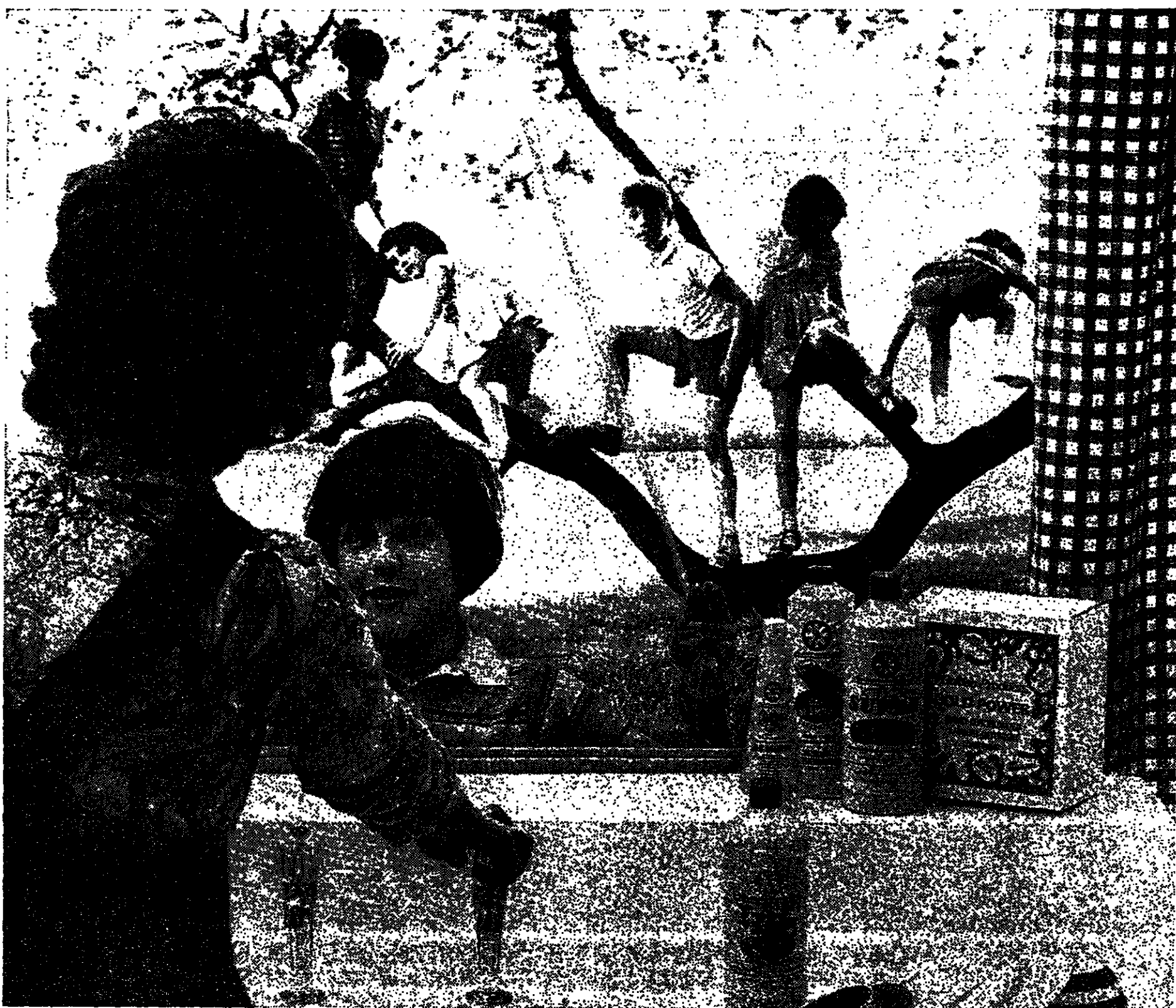
Other instances of alleged treatment of seven of the detainees named in a Sunday Times article of October 17 appear to have fallen outside Compton's terms of reference.

The committee refers to justification for the interrogation methods as necessary "in interest of saving lives" but not comment on its validity.

In his introduction to report the Home Secretary, Maudling, stresses this aspect pointing out that since August 1969, more than 150 people have been killed in connection with the Ulster emergency. He does not mention, however, the fact that well over half have been killed since intervention (and it, of course, the interrogation procedures outlined by Compton was introduced just over two months ago.

Lewis Chest

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If you want to make a call to a

country abroad from 24 to 26 December the earlier you book the better. (You can also book calls for 31.12.71 to 1.1.72 for all countries except Europe and NW Africa.* You will have plenty of time to tell people when to expect your call and this could save you the extra expense of a personal call—up to £1.75. Please book early and help us to plan our work so that we can provide you with your call, and still let our operators spend some time at home over the holiday.

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*This includes Algeria, Libya, Morocco and Tunisia.

Please book early.

Ulster: a true perspective?

THANK YOU for Insight's Perceptive on Ulster and also for your leading article (last week) which followed the unhappy events of recent years with growing concern and sadness. Perhaps the saddest thing of all are the regard and sheer ignorance of it of our MPs—but least those of the Home Secretary. There is of course exception, but at the majority of them are ruled by hatred and prejudice. That a paper of your stature publishes such excellent articles of such a high standard of reporting on a subject loaded with emotion helps to keep alive faith and hope in democracy.

Edmund J. Enright
Lyme Regis

YOU ARE now the toast of the A. How happy and proud you must be. All decent people will love you. You may have read the IRA as readers but I will love many who have read your paper for years. Yours now the gutter press.

A Arkwright
London NW8

MY own behalf and on behalf many moderates like myself whom The Sunday Times ought comfort last week I am writing to thank you for the fair and impartial reporting of your report, and for your editorial comment. I lived and worked in England for a great many years, and it restores one's faith in the kindness and fairness of the average person once one has seen their political views seem so unlike their own.

B Kelly
Belfast

YOUR leading article on the Ulster problem is the finest and most courageous I have ever read. It sets the only approach to this "Ulster problem" which offers any hope at all of a peaceful future for the people of that province.

R F Whaley
London N6

THE Insight report on Ulster is a disgraceful example of one-sided, distorted rubbish and an insult to the people of Britain. Individuals concerned in this anti-peace presentation would have made Hitler appear leader of an oppressed minority against the tyrannical rule of Poland, Czechoslovakia and France.

D J Shand
Liverpool 13

RESPECTIVE on Ulster was terrible. It has long been right that the twin hallmarks of a Britisher were a sense of play and a concern for the underdog. By these criteria the tenants of Ulster, despite their ragged and ragged, are much less British than the Irish. Fifty years of the gerrymandered ballot-box, jobs for the (Protestant Boys) house-discrimination, etc., have been bitter fruit. This unfortunate is now being plucked for meat by British troops. The conflict has finally resolved into Jungle Law versus the Law: both are unclear, the latter has called forth the former.

J Irvine
Birmingham 29

the pettiness of LBJ

STATESMANLIKE and oned memoirs of President Johnson now being serialised in Sunday Times make excellent reading. Alas they bear relation to reality in that fail to point up the essential pettiness and vindictiveness of man. I have some small personal experience of this. In the United Nations Corridor of a major news agency in 1965, I had lunch in New York with a US Government official who told me "off the record" of an interesting but particularly earth-shattering active which the US intended to take the following week in East-West disarmament talks. Contact assured me that I did use the story provided I not identify the source. I did so, attributing the information to "Western informants." The President always had no newstickers in his office. I was later informed that he saw my story on one of the demanded to know "who is son of a bitch who leaked the story?" Other journalists of the presidential press man about the new initiative that same day and, although America's allies had been met, and even the Russians partly apprised of it, the man denied any such plan. It was postponed for three months. In the meantime a "witch-hunt" was launched, on specific House orders, to find the Department official who had leaked the story. The finger of suspicion was pointed at me, but fortunately nothing proved against him and he was cleared. During this period I had a number of splendidly private lunches at the expense of members of the US delegation to the United Nations, all seeking to ascertain my source. I make this point merely to show a relatively unimportant news story could make the difference between a relatively unimportant and a highly paid people's job to "rack down the leak."

John Perry
Geneva

Il policy

I was surprised to read (Atticus) that I was "anti-pill." I never that may mean. My view of morality of contraception is that decisions should be taken by means of consultation between husband and wife according to their consciences. It is not up to others to instruct them on such intimate matters. Personally I would want my wife to take the pill on medical not theological grounds.

Norman St John-Stevens
London SW1

THE EMERGENCE of the hitherto unrecognised dyslexia, or word blindness, as a reason for certain people's inability to learn beyond a particular point suggests that there may be other "blind spot" disabilities that can impede a child's scholastic development.

While not wishing to present yet another excuse for backwardness in children, I would be interested to find out whether any other readers have experienced my own form of mental inadequacy—number blindness.

At eight years of age I was unable to memorise multiplication tables and so mathematics became a recurring nightmare for the rest of my school days. At 14, I left elementary school; I'd attained the coveted top standard a year earlier but I was still four years behind in maths.

Some people are word-blind—so can my son and I be number-blind?

As a manual worker my inability to keep numbers in my head was no more than an annoyance—even though it meant that after ten years of using the internal telephone at work I still couldn't remember any of the three-digit numbers that I'd been dialling every day.

Once I was stopped at a traffic-check and asked by a policeman if I knew the registration number of the car I was driving, I didn't. I've owned ten different motor vehicles since I began driving and I can only recall the registration number of one of them. It was SBT 230. The numbers had a

corny word-association for me: A Chinaman's toothache—looth hurtee—230.

When my son began having difficulty with his "tables" at the age of eight it seemed more than a coincidence. Every evening we went for long walks through the streets and from one lamp post to the next he would enthusiastically chant "seven sevens are 49" and from the next lamp post to the one after that "eight sevens are 56" until he'd repeated the whole seven times table ad nauseam.

An hour later, number seven would once again be a meaningless cypher to my boy, the rhythms

and cadences of "seven sevens are 49" and "ten sevens are 70" having been completely rejected by his memory.

Now, at 14, he's at the bottom of his class in maths. He's probably considered by his teacher to be lazy and inattentive—as I was—although he complains bitterly to me that other boys who don't even try can learn arithmetic without any trouble.

So, although my son has above-average abilities in English and art, his choice of a worthwhile career will be severely restricted.

Is this deficiency peculiar to my own family or is it as widespread as "word blindness"? If it is common, is it important enough to require special teaching methods to deal with it?

Len Waller
Derby

A surrealistic failure

IAN NAIRN describes the construction of Swansea's tallest building as "a massive new backcloth" for the castle and "a remarkably successful case of shock therapy" (This Britain, last week). The caption to the photograph describes it as "a fine example of urban surrealism."

Accepting these descriptions for a moment, is the "shock therapy" now prescribed for Swansea's citizens and visitors a sensible objective for city centre planning? Any casual juxtaposition of structures may give momentary visual excitement, but in designing permanent features of the urban landscape it would seem desirable to aim at harmonising with existing buildings.

In Swansea, as elsewhere, the traffic provides sufficient excitement for most people, and it seems unnecessary to supply architectural shocks in addition.

One might have hoped that the planners would try to achieve a measure of order and congruity in aligning the city's principal buildings. Although in itself the tower block is a better than average example of its kind, it dwarfs the castle and the other buildings in the adjacent square. This may be "urban surrealism," but I do not think the result is pleasing.

W R B Robinson
Cheam

Standeessy

FOLLOWING Mrs Honnor's complaint about the use of the word "escapes" (Letters, last week) perhaps I could mention a notice which I saw on a bus the other day. It informed passengers that only six "standees" were permitted.

J S Pereira
West Horsley



May, 1918: Newly-captured British soldiers on their way to a prisoner-of-war camp

REMEMBRANCE Day reminded me that there have been books and films of the prisoners in Germany and Japanese hands during the 1939-45 war, but I know of none recording the conditions which our troops endured as 1914-18 prisoners of war.

After the Armistice, the Germans set us all free and left us to find our own way back to the Allies. There were no options, no arrangements for transport or

The PoWs of 1914-18

sleeping. My most poignant memory is of meeting on the road between Warminne and Maransart in Belgium on November 13, 1918, an old cab being pulled westwards by six emaciated Jocks. Inside the cab was a Jock, only skin and bone left.

eating a raw turnip ravenously. Then stopped momentarily, too weak to talk but pointed to their chest in the cab. We found him lousy from head to foot and with two enormous bedsores on his buttocks, but could do nothing to help.

Before it is too late, could some historian please write the story of the privations such men endured. (Dr) E Russell Vernon
Sidmouth

Wasted skills

ELECTRICIANS and plumbers will no doubt be pleased to note that according to the architect Alan Fletcher (Look, last week) their years of apprenticeship learning the skills of their trades were wasted. Anyone can do it, providing they get the right coloured wires together or can manipulate plastic tubing.

The electricians and plumbers can take heart though, for, like my husband, I am sure most of them can knock walls down, do a bit of carpentry, make a tolerable job of plastering and decorating and with a little help from their wives and a glossy magazine, some very necessary spare cash and precious spare time, they could redesign a house without having to employ Mr Fletcher.

Forty years ago when my husband was serving his apprenticeship in the electrical trade he was taught that "electricity is a good servant but a bad master." For safety's sake Mr Fletcher should make a note of that.

(Mrs) Rachel Wilde
Boston Spa

Correspondents are asked to give a daytime telephone number where possible.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

200 Gray's Inn Road, London WC1

Unhelpful box girder rules

THE HEADLINE Rhine Bridge Builders Played It Safe But Still Lost (last week) is a statement that cannot be substantiated until the cause of the failure is known. But, certainly, to suggest that the German box girder designs are traditional and conservative is too sweeping.

Some parts of a box girder bridge are designed more conservatively to satisfy German standards than is required by codes of practice in other countries, but this does not apply generally.

Some engineers, including myself, are not happy about the factors of safety permitted on the Continent during construction. The German standards give little guidance in this respect and what they do give is far from conservative.

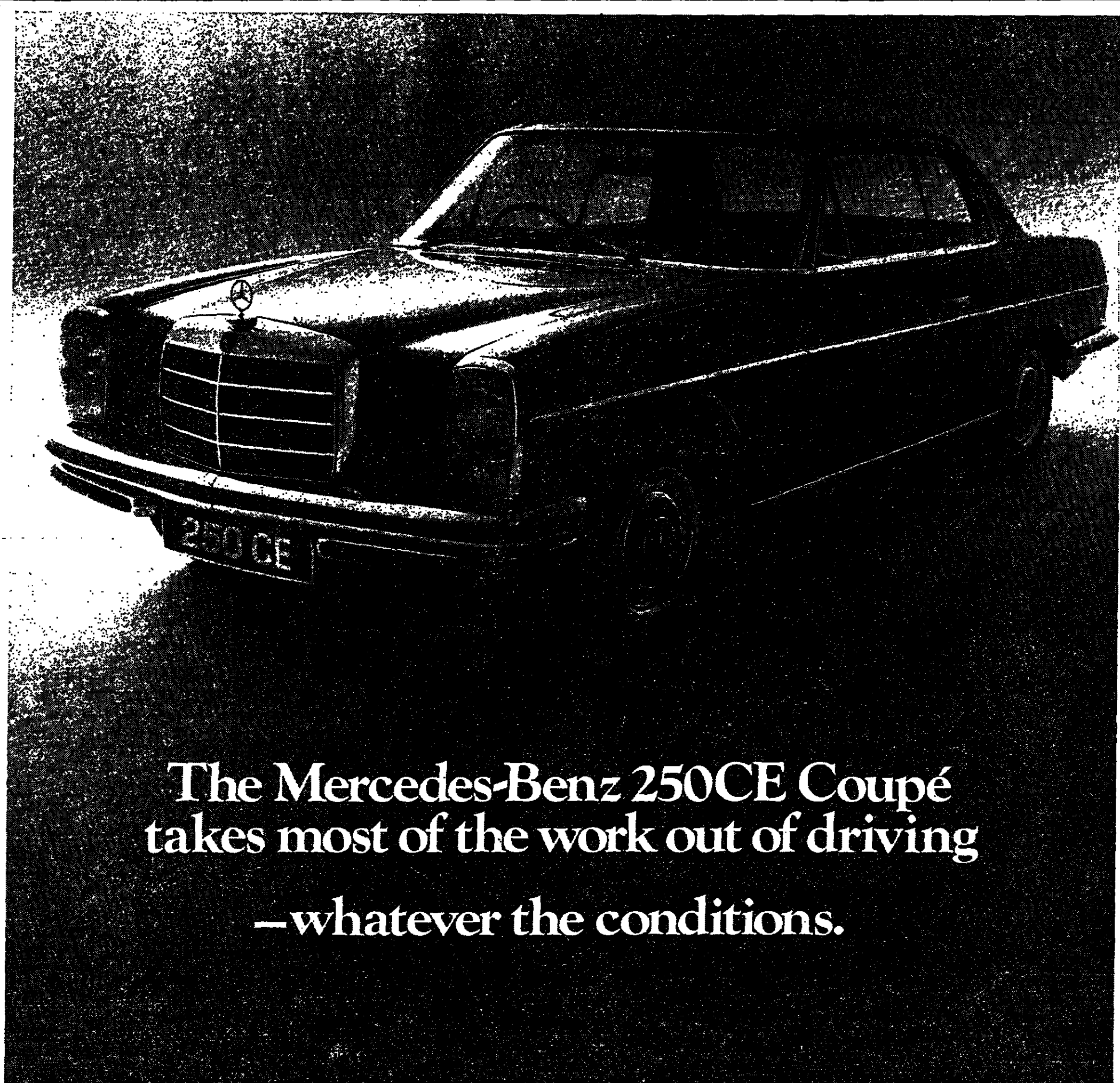
It is very easy to fall into the

trap of casting doubt about the whole concept of box girder construction when what should be questioned are the reserves of strength that the bridge should possess during erection. There is nothing wrong with the principle of box girder construction as the Merrison Committee has pointed out.

I would also refute the statement that bridge engineers do not fully comprehend just how the boxes sustain their own weight and how much load goes into each part.

The reasons for the failures that have occurred in recent years have been fully and adequately determined by calculations and in this country the Government has taken action to apply the lessons so harshly learned.

D J Lee
London SE20



The Mercedes-Benz 250CE Coupé takes most of the work out of driving — whatever the conditions.

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Its compact overall size makes the 250CE extremely easy to manoeuvre in traffic, yet the interior is almost as spacious as a Mercedes saloon. Visibility is unusually good. Less than ten per cent of the all-round view is obstructed by roof pillars. In traffic another advantage is its acceleration (0-60 10.2 secs)—particularly with optional automatic transmission which allows you to glide through traffic jams with no more than a touch of the accelerator. The 250CE is also easier to park than many smaller cars. Most people also

specify the optional power-assisted steering which removes even more of the effort.

Out of town the Mercedes-Benz 250CE shows the other side of its nature. It can cruise at speeds far in excess of the legal limit (top speed 118mph) and at the end of several hundred miles of such driving, both the driver and four passengers can get out as fresh as when they got in. It owes this performance to a 2.5 litre 170 h.p., 6 cylinder engine with electronic fuel-injection and transistorised ignition.

The 250CE is also a very desirable cross-country car. On twisting roads it shows truly sporting characteristics. What would be tight corners to some cars are no more than gentle bends to the 250CE Coupé. The four wheel independent suspension and gas-filled shock absorbers ensure fantastic roadholding and passenger comfort. And if you need to stop in a hurry the

twin-circuit, four wheel disc brakes will do just that.

This then is the rare Mercedes-Benz 250CE Coupé, a car which has been designed right down to the last detail. Typical of that attention to detail is the vacuum-operated system which locks the backs of the front seats as soon as the doors are closed.

With automatic transmission and power-assisted steering, the 250CE costs £4,081. Why not try driving it. The only effort required is a phone call to your nearest Mercedes-Benz dealer.

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Telephone: 01-560 2151

For enquiries about tax concession purchase, contact Export Division, 127 Park Lane, London W.1
Telephone: 01-629 5578.



Mercedes-Benz: the end of compromise

Note of charity

TOM DAVIES' sneer about journalists' failure to publicise their own charity's film premiere (Private Eye, last week), implies that there is something unusual—and reprehensible—in Fleet Street's attitude. The fact is that few premiere make news. Would Mr Davies prefer journalists to bend their assessment of news values to promote their own causes?

Victor Ripley
London EC4

Closed door

WHILE British Rail's engineers are redesigning Inter-City carriage doors to stay closed (last week) they might do something about Inter-City toilet doors that open without human aid under the influence of the train's vibration.

Gerry Page
Loughborough

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FORCED confinement in mental hospitals is one of the most frightening weapons used by the KGB to silence dissidents in Russia; very few regain their freedom without admitting their errors and their "illnesses." One man who succeeded—after 19 days

inside an asylum—is Zhores Medvedev, 46, an eminent biologist. Now he and his brother Roy have written an extraordinary book* about his confinement and the outcry which followed it. An exclusive report by NICHOLAS CARROLL.

THE KGB's first approach to Zhores Medvedev was curiously oblique. On April 8, 1970, he was telephoned at his home in Obninsk by the chairman of the city Soviet, Mrs Nina Petrova Antonenko. She said she wanted to see him about the behaviour of his elder son.

The boy, aged 17, had been going through an awkward phase. His parents had taken him to a psychiatrist, who determined that there was no more than a premature hormonal development.

Mrs Antonenko informed Zhores that he was to go the next day to Kaluga, the regional capital, and discuss the boy with Comrade Vovk of the Kaluga Department of Education. Zhores said he had an appointment in Moscow but his wife could go. This appeared to disconcert Mrs Antonenko, who said they wanted to talk to the father.

Ten days later Vovk himself rang and asked him to come the next day to Kaluga. Zhores pointed out that the boy would be leaving school in a month and he could not understand her concern.

"We have important reasons for wanting to see you," Vovk replied. "It's in your own interests. Surely you are not indifferent to the fate of your son?" She said a leading Kaluga psychiatrist, Comrade Lezenko, would talk to him about his son and make valuable suggestions.

Zhores realised the psychiatric examination would be not of the son, but of the father. "It was by now a notorious practice that persons who aroused the displeasure of the authorities without actually breaking the law could suddenly be made to undergo psychiatric examinations."

His suspicions soon grew more positive. A fortnight later Mrs Antonenko called him to the city Soviet to talk about his unemployment. (Zhores had been without work for a year having been illegally dismissed from his institute.) When he arrived, she introduced a stranger as an official from the Department of Education.

After some conversation about Zhores' employment problem, the talk turned to his son. The stranger suddenly began asking questions about Zhores' younger son, then about the son of his twin brother Roy. These questions made it plain to Zhores that the stranger was a psychiatrist exploring the family background.

At the beginning of May there came another summons, one which proved to be the most

sinister of all. The director of the Obninsk psychiatric clinic, Y. V. Kiryushin, asked Zhores to call for a talk about his son. It was Kiryushin who had been consulted previously about the boy's behaviour, and so father and son had no qualms.

Kiryushin said he wanted to speak to the boy alone. A nurse took Zhores to a waiting room. "She opened a door with a special key, led me through a bathroom, opened the next door and left me there in a small room."

"After about 15 minutes I saw my son leave the building and head for home, but no one had come for me. I decided to go back to Kiryushin, but the door of the room turned out to be locked. The window was covered by a solid grille. I had walked into a trap."

"There was no response to my banging on the door and I stopped, realising that it might be used against me if my confinement in this little room was not simply a mistake."

"I had to think of some other way out. I suddenly remembered that there was a large pocket knife in my coat which I used for pruning my garden. With it I began to force back the tongue of the lock. After several attempts, the door opened. From the corridor I walked into the visitors' waiting room where a nurse, seeing a stranger dressed in an overcoat, showed me out into the street."

A trick telephone call

A few days later, on May 20, the determined Kiryushin rang Zhores to persuade him to bring his son to Kaluga Hospital where an "experienced psychiatrist" from Moscow would give him a thorough examination. When Zhores asked the name of the doctor, Kiryushin couldn't remember, but rang up later to say it was Professor Melekhov, one of the foremost specialists in Russia. "By now I was an old hand at this game... within an hour I found that Melekhov never gave consultations in Kaluga, did not intend going there on May 21, and had not even been invited to do so."

On Friday, May 29, Kiryushin phoned as the Medvedev family was sitting down to dinner. He asked Zhores to come over to the clinic immediately. It was important and concerned his son. The two men fenced with each other for a while. Eventually Kiryushin agreed to see Zhores on Monday.

Zhores' wife Rita, however, decided to go to see Kiryushin

to find out what was so urgent. Zhores went part of the way with her, but returned home after 10 or 15 minutes. Some neighbours told him that in the meantime, a hospital ambulance had driven up and three policemen and two men in plain clothes had entered the building. They had just left.

"I understood this to mean they had decided on extreme measures. I had to get out of Obninsk at once. I rushed up stairs, speeded my crucial. I packed my briefcase, wrote a short note to my wife, and went to get my coat."

He was too late. Squealing brakes announced the return of the ambulance and within a few seconds there was a knocking at the door. Kiryushin's voice called on him to open. Zhores ignored this, and the men outside started to force their way in. Three policemen burst in first, and behind them were Kiryushin and another man who calmly walked into the study.

"I sat in my chair behind the desk opposite the stranger. For a moment we looked at each other in silence. He was an undersized, rather frail-looking type, clearly someone of education. He suddenly asked me in a most affable tone, as one might ask an old friend, 'Zhores Alexandrovich, is something troubling you?'"

"And who do you think you are, bursting into my apartment without permission?"

"I am the head doctor of the Kaluga Psychiatric Hospital, Alexander Yefimovich Lifshits."

In this manner Zhores met the men with whom he and his brother were to fight a 19-day battle of wits. Lifshits clearly had orders to find a basis for declaring Zhores to be a case for the psychiatrists. Zhores was resolved not to give him the smallest grounds for such action. Feeling it essential to speak only before witnesses, he sent his wife to bring several colleagues who lived nearby. In due course the colleagues arrived—six men who were all very solid citizens, somewhat to the embarrassment of the doctors and police."

Lifshits then invited Zhores to go "voluntarily" to the Kaluga Psychiatric Hospital for a brief examination, guaranteeing that he could return home shortly afterwards. Zhores rejected this, and his wife and friends joined in the discussion, asking by what authority Lifshits forced his way in.

"Hard pressed, he finally admitted that his visit had been occasioned by a request from the Obninsk City Soviet chairman, Mrs Antonenko, who had talked



Zhores Medvedev, subject of an international outcry, and his twin Roy (right)

to me recently and had found my behaviour strange."

But Lifshits was apparently unsure of himself, reluctant to use force in front of the family and other witnesses. Suddenly a police major entered the room. Where he came from, I don't know. Nevertheless the major immediately took command.

"What's this? Why are you refusing to submit to the requests of the doctor?" he demanded in a blustering tone.

"And who on earth might you be? I didn't invite you here."

"I am Police Major Nikolai Filipovich Nemov. I must ask you to come with me."

If you are a police major, then you must know the law about the inviolability of citizens' homes, especially as the police are responsible for law and order."

"We are responsible for enforcement! Nemov retorted even thumping his chest with his fist. 'Get to your feet! I order you to get to your feet!'"

The major made some sign to the policemen and they rushed Zhores. His wife was dragged into

the next room. "With my arms twisted behind my back they took me down the staircase and into the courtyard. There was already a curious crowd around their ambulance. They shoved me inside and started off."

"I SLEPT BADLY on my first night in the hospital. They put me in a general ward for six people. It was stuffy, a small light remained on all night, and the nurse on duty sat by the door just near my bed."

"Although we had arrived at Kaluga after 10 o'clock, Lifshits was waiting for us and talked to me for another hour and a half. Then they took my blood pressure, listened to my heart beat, and took away my own clothes, replacing them with the bright striped pyjamas issued to mental patients."

Next day, Zhores' twin brother Roy began his attempts to gain his release, beginning with a round of telephone calls to important friends, among them Andrei Sakharov, the nuclear physicist.

Lifshits was kept under constant pressure by these visitors.

Roy tracked down Lifshits at his home and learnt that the real complaint against Zhores was that "he is always dissatisfied about something... always fighting against something." Roy retorted: "But then you would have had to declare Marx abnormal. He too was always fighting something."

It was clear to Roy that the whole operation hinged on Zhores' persistent refusal in the past to recognise his mistakes. Local officials at Obninsk wanted to teach him a lesson, and had co-ordinated matters with the Regional Party Committee and the KGB branch at Kaluga.

Roy lobbied every academician whom he knew admired Zhores and his work; he approached well-known writers such as Alexander Tvardovsky, who was "thunderstruck" at the news, and Vladimir Tendryakov. The influence of these two was to prove a crucial element. Roy even rang up the duty officer at the KGB headquarters. He got a brisk brush-off. "Why are you calling us and not the Ministry of Health?" a cold voice inquired.

By Tuesday, four days after the abduction, Roy discovered that it was the Minister of Health, Petrovsky, who was insisting on Zhores' retention in hospital.

Two days later, a commission including senior staff from the notorious Serbsky Institute of Forensic Psychiatry in Moscow examined Zhores who afterwards told he would be discharged the next day.

His wife came to collect him, but Zhores was not allowed to talk to her. She had to remain behind a locked glass door.

"But my wife and I were able to communicate by signs. Several patients stood near me in the corridor amazed at the absurdity of a situation quite unusual in this wing. There had never before been any problems about meetings with wives."

"One of the astonished bystanders was Sasha, a youth who had already spent eight years in the hospital. As the elder of the patients' council, he openly expressed his indignation to the nurse at the door. But when he threatened resignation as 'elder' he was hustled away to 'the terrible Seventh Wing. Because of the iron bars on the window, the Seventh Wing resembled a prison. Very severe cases and dangerous madmen were kept there."

Zhores was not discharged. The preliminary diagnosis had been "severe mental illness dangerous to the public." Not until well after his eventual release did his family discover the final diagnosis had been "incipient schizophrenia accompanied by paranoid delusions of reforming society."

The struggle for Zhores' release continued. Roy addressed a statement to Mr Kosygin and Sakharov sent an open letter to Mr Brezhnev. A non-stop flow of important visitors called on Zhores at the hospital.

Lifshits was kept under constant pressure by these visitors.

He began to lose his mind. Tvardovsky, describing his said: "I kept trying to look in the eye, but I never managed it. For a whole hour's conversation he didn't once look up."

The first suggestion, ever, of compulsory treatment had been made. "Lifshits rather cautiously asked me I would react if he prescribed a course of drug treatment with two powerful depressants. I replied that I would exactly the same about the experiments which Hitler's doctors carried out in the concentration camps. The drugs were administered."

On June 11 came the first indication that the tide was turning. Petrovsky, the Minister of Health, who had refused to meet any of the academicians who had been pressing him, an interview, decided to call a meeting with a group of them.

The meeting lasted three hours and the Ministry's diagnosis torn to shreds. Petrovsky left, looking very glum. He wrote that Petrovsky had written that Zhores would be released Wednesday, June 17. For he did not lie.

On Sunday, June 14, Alexei Solzhenitsyn had asked permission to speak out. Solzhenitsyn's open letter was lashed around the world: "It has become fashionable this way of settling accounts. It is time to understand that imprisonment of sane persons in madhouses because their minds of their own is spiriting murder..."

"When you are buried, difficult to prove that you are alive—unless a miracle place and malefactor open grave before you really die."

Vassily Chernishov in his "Apology to the Soviet Public" in January. But for Medvedev, the case was opened. Russia needs scientists too badly to alienate them to the point of total non-co-operation—a fact Roy realised and exploited.

Just after his brother's release, Roy was summoned to the KGB. A high official explained it had been the fault of the authorities and the KGB had wanted to be involved.

Zhores himself was requested by Lifshits to forget the affair. He agreed to keep silent, long as you do not remind me for any further examinations."

At the end of June, 1971, nurse telephoned Zhores at the Obninsk clinic and asked to come for a check-up as he had received his papers at Kaluga Hospital. At this stage, a breach of an undertaking the brothers wrote their book was smuggled out. So far there has been no retaliation.

Extracts from Zhores and Roy A. Medvedev, 1971 and Macmillan London Ltd.

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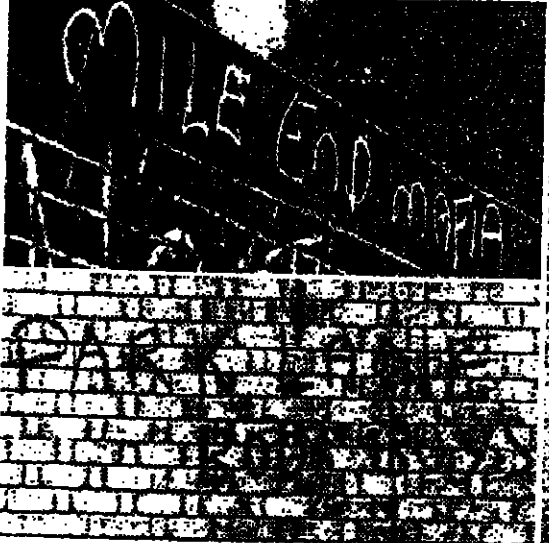
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Violence in our schools: the grim reality

FATAL stabbing last week of a 14-year-old schoolboy in a playground was followed not inevitably by suggestions we might be heading towards a kind of American situation where children in big city schools are to the classroom armed and ready for a fight. Everyone was shocked by the incident—except those teachers who, in large numbers, have come to expect violence as an everyday part of life.

The reason that their opinion has not been heard before is that it is disturbing as the playground incident. Along with local authority administrators they quite deliberately suppressed evidence about classroom violence to an extent which has most of us to believe that it exists. As a result very little has been done to tackle the problem.

Last week, however, the National Association of Schoolmasters thought it was a good opportunity to release some preliminary details of a nationwide survey they have been compiling since the past, says the Association, local education authorities have been reluctant to grant requests from teachers to suspend a pupil because of persistent violence. The subsequent publicity has even been afraid to make the requests because it might sometimes brand them as "armed with a club." He was met at the school gates by a junior teacher who had his nose broken in the ensuing scuffle. The incident "did not concern the local authority as the affair took place outside the school grounds."



That sort of reaction, says the NAS general secretary, Terry Casey, often deters teachers from making complaints against pupils. "Even so our list of those wanting to be legally represented by the Association is growing fast."

The Inner London Education Authority has recognised the disturbing phenomenon in a report called *Discipline in Schools* published last year. "Cases of more serious vandalism, or of violence towards staff or fellow pupils occur... the Authority recognises the pressure of such problems upon the teacher in its service is increasing and that these include happenings of a violent character."

Mr Casey hopes that if teachers feel they can suspend pupils with impunity the local authorities will be forced to find alternative schooling for the rejected few. Mr Casey's ideal is a new type of

school—preferably residential—but which does not carry the stigma of an approved school. The NAS survey was sparked off by its members hostility to the raising of the school leaving age to 16 which comes in next year. Many of their members wanted to show that the disruptive minority would be even more difficult to handle if they were forced to stay on for another year. Most educationalists, however, who have been working passionately for the raising of the leaving age, see this aspect of the NAS's campaign as a deliberate red herring.

Nevertheless when the Department of Education sent out its circular on the raising of the

leaving age the association simply saw it as yet another example of the authorities turning a blind eye to the violence problem. The circular emphasised that with teachers' "initiative and energy" the raising of the age could be a success. Mr Casey aims to show that it is not only up to the teachers.

He is certainly well on the way to doing just that. And faced with the NAS results local authorities will be unable to continue to shun the issue of violence in schools—an issue which has been suppressed for a dangerously long time.

Peter Pringle

PSYCHOLOGY

How to rate your broker

HOW DO YOU rate whether your stockbroker is a good solid type, who will make you no money, but won't lose too much of it either, or a high-flier whose mad desperate tips could make you a millionaire overnight?

For the first time the baleful eye of the psychologist has been turned on the world of the stockbroker to determine what factors divide the wolves from the lambs. William Baker, an associate professor at the University of California, carried out two studies—one amongst a group of business students, whose personality he had previously assessed—and the other amongst experienced stockbrokers. The first group was given an imaginary initial investment of nearly £30,000 on one or more stocks, and their decisions as to how to dispose of it were recorded. The stockbrokers were rated by their own firms, and divided into successes and failures according to the amount of money they had made for the firms' clients in the previous three years.

The differences between success and failure in both groups were not only clear-cut, but identical.

The first point that Baker noted was that intelligence did not rank high as a characteristic in the make-up of the successful market man. In fact it rated last on a list of nine "personality variables." What was much more effective was an approach to buying and selling which was almost feminine—an intuitive reaction which suggested that women might, on the whole, make better stockbrokers than men.

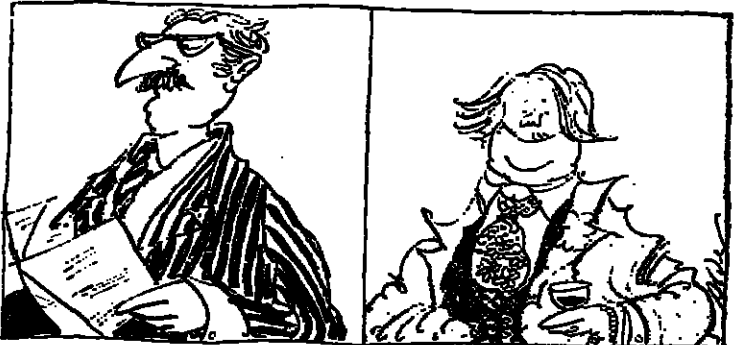
Baker found that while the successful money-maker might, indeed, turn out to have the expected characteristics of aggression and competitiveness, he would also be a snob—highly conscious of, and concerned about,

differences in status and his own standing on the social ladder. He would be a gregarious, sociable type, friendly and agreeable when it mattered, and not at all the abrasive individual one associates with success in the commercial world. He would be a trifle self-satisfied, too, and perhaps somewhat over-bearing. But he would also be tolerant, and certainly not the inward-looking conservative type one normally associates with the pin-striped image of the office man. Flamboyant might be a better word to describe him.

It was the second study—of practising brokers—which drew a better picture of the loser, the man on whom it would be unwise to place your shirt.

The study was carried out when the market, as a whole, was falling, so there were few gains to be made by someone holding on to all his shares. The successful brokers sold wisely, and bought only occasionally. The failures, whether or not they sold correctly, went on to buy badly, caught in a groove of wrong-headed thinking.

Arnold Legh



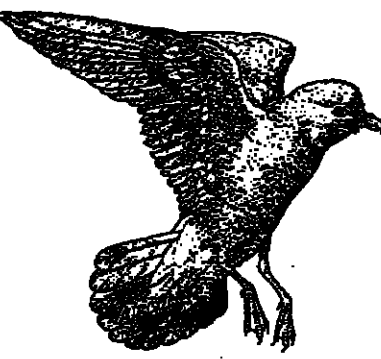
Stockbroker mark 1: Intelligent, conventional, masculine, abrasive. VERDICT: unsuccessful.

Stockbroker mark 2: Unintelligent, sociable, feminine. VERDICT: a high-flier.

THE MEDICAL SCIENCE The petrel's clue to heart disease

NEW FORM of heart disease, which strikes apparently healthy, athletic people in their teens and early twenties, has been called by doctors. The condition, called cardiomyopathy, was mistaken for a coronary heart disease, since death is sudden, unexpected and tends to take place in vigorous exercise.

In fact cardiomyopathy is caused by over-development of heart muscle which can cut off the outflow of blood. It is exactly this symptom which plagues the person affected to an energetic life, taking a



Stormy petrel: more muscle

possible that a preponderance of the muscle pattern can fatally affect the heart.

The disease was first cited as a cause of death by a London pathologist. Faced with the deaths of three exceptionally fit young men over a short period—two had died while riding bicycles, and one playing football—he refused to write them off as simple heart attacks. There was no evidence of coronaries. Finally he decided that they were cases of the newly defined cardiomyopathy.

A further clue came when a geneticist from the Medical Research Council was following up a number of patients operated on during infancy for a stomach complaint known as pyloric

stenosis. This, too, is a condition caused by the over-development of a muscle; it usually takes place before birth.

He found that the patients examined were a notably athletic group. Most of them had cups, trophies and team photographs adorning the sitting-room dresser, and it soon emerged that there was a parallel between the two conditions.

Sufferers from the disease may not necessarily be more skilled at games than anyone else; but because of their muscle pattern they run around more, stay constantly in motion, and tend therefore to be fitter.

But how can it be diagnosed in an apparently healthy individual? Some doctors feel that medical tests run by sports doctors are far too restricted in scope to cover diseases of this complexity. These tests are mostly confined to pulse rates, vital capacity and muscle power. Perhaps, in the light of new findings they ought to be widened to include biochemistry. This would not simply help to pinpoint conditions like cardiomyopathy. It might also show, for example, why athletes go stale, something which is quite inexplicable in anatomical or physiological terms. Far-flying birds may yet have much to reveal. After all, who ever heard of a stormy petrel going stale on a flight half-way across the Atlantic?

Brian Moynahan

The businessman's guide to the Middle East



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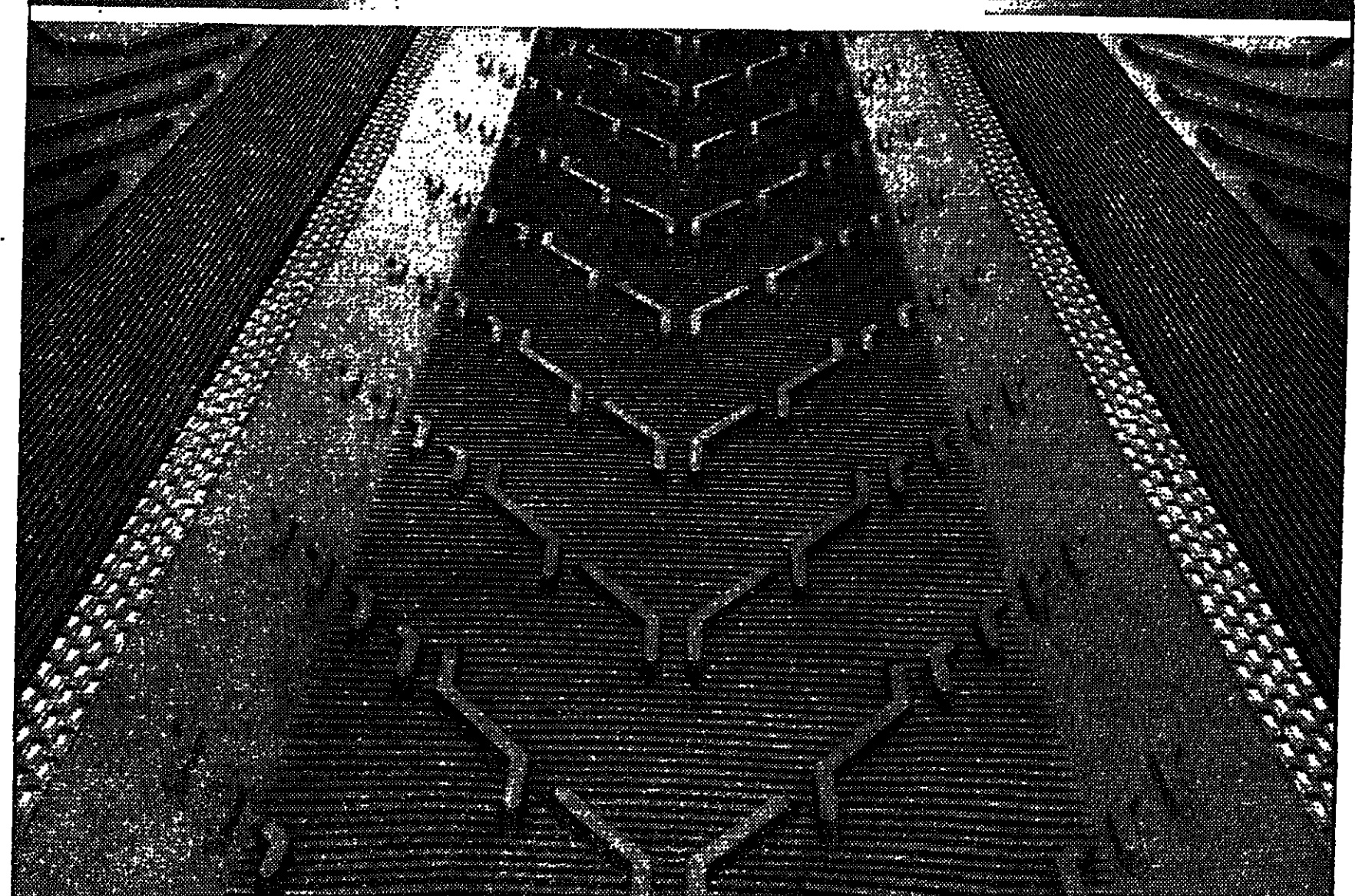
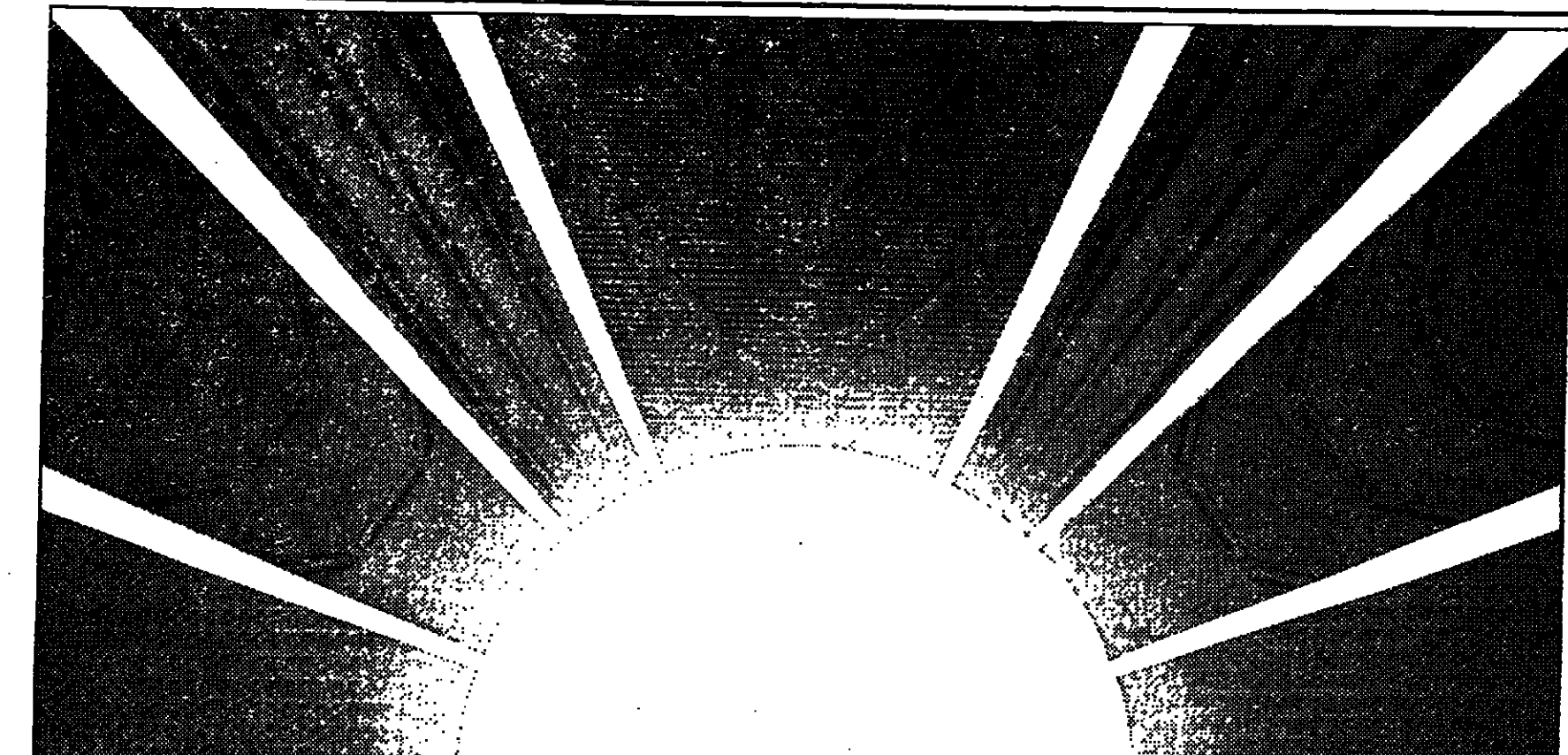
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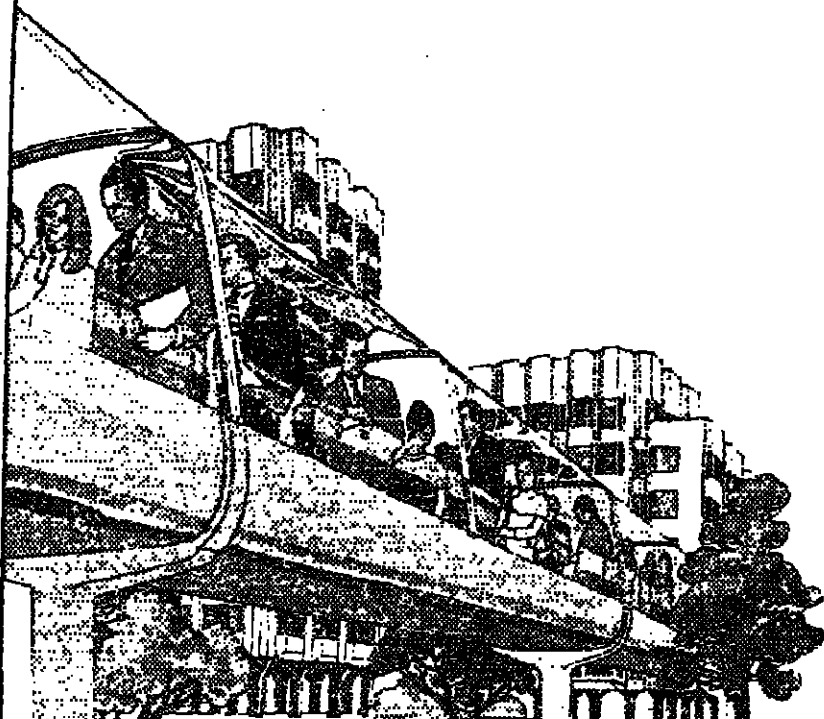
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DUNLOP



This view is put forward by newspapers as well as politicians but it is a quite unacceptable definition of the journalist's task. It is possible to detest and abhor the methods of the IRA, as we do, and still question the future of Stormont. It is possible to endorse and support the British Army, as we do, and still despair of the state. There is no inconsistency here and no betrayal. This is not a war for the survival of Britain, but a political disaster which must be resolved in the end by democratic politicians and democratic methods. The real betrayal would be for newspapers to abdicate their part in that process.

* *General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade and the Organisation of European Co-operation and Development.*

Imagine that the prospect of American disengagement in these circumstances will promote greater unity in Europe. On the contrary it will tend to break up such unity as now exists. France's refusal to float the franc up closer to the Deutschmark has already compelled Germany to paralyse the Common Agricultural Policy. Unless France yields on this, Germany is bound to accept Secretary Connally's offer of a

Yet both the British and French Governments will suffer far more from a failure to settle the currency crisis in the coming weeks. If France is not persuaded of this fact, is it too much to hope that Britain at least will see where her real interest lies? This is one issue on which the rest of Europe would welcome a lead from Britain.

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Why hooding is mental torture

Even at the physical level, the results must surely be uncertain. Only long-term follow-up of people who have been subjected to these highly stressful procedures will reveal whether they have been permanently damaged either mentally or physically. If Mr Maudling knows of such a long-term study he ought to give us the reference.

Nearly everyone can be reduced to a state of helplessness, dependency, and mental illness if the right techniques are used. The pl results of such treatment are severe enough, and some are permanent. The effects are much more difficult to predict; but the effects are seldom e

Nothing happened, except that I got very cold, with the opera in the middle of November. Then, it all happened, all at once. A sparrow hopped through the doorway, looked at me steadily, took off, dropped one right in the middle of the typewriter, and left. I shut the window at once, in case it had a friend, and instantly a Reunited bumped itself against the window, fell and died.

There is only one person I know who can help me in my present turmoil. Our own birdman, Mr Maurice Wiggin.

Don't bother to write, Maurice, old man. Just telephone at once!

There is, admittedly, a remote chance that there are hundreds of these birds, making their way either north or south across the limitless oceans of the world, and they think this house is a ship, in which they can find a temporary resting place for their weary wings. When you're being attacked by small, yellow-bellied birds, it's impossible

"Gaaak!" She sounded not unlike a bird herself, one of the hysterical ones, like a Wild Crested Cockatoo. "Don't you dare. Don't you touch that window." The imperative mood

INSIGHT: A PERSPECTIVE ON ULSTER Part 2

TWO SHOTS THAT KILLED A LAST BID FOR PEACE

st week's narrative plotted the origins of strife in Ulster. It told how the movement to win equal civil rights for the holics met with reluctant reforms from Orange supremacy, and with violent reversion which in turn fostered increasing holic militancy. It told how, by a command of political misjudgments and ient suspicions, the role of the British ny was changed—from August 1969, en it was sent in to protect the burning holic ghettos, to August 1970 when it nd itself facing a hostile Catholic popu-on. As we take up the narrative, the ne was set for the rise of the gunmen of Provisional IRA.

S CALLAGHAN, Labour's Secretary, was already ing direct rule in Ulster—ol of the province from on—when Labour lost the on in June, 1970. Few of colleagues knew The Prime ter, Harold Wilson, did and was "dithering," Calla-remarked at the time. The et had not been approached. aghan's mind appears to en made up. He now to say merely that he was ewing "the situation, but ave no reason to doubt a ed private account of his ions which he gave at the

view of what has happened it is worth examining both asons for Callaghan's direct plan and the difficulties his servants then foresaw.

aghan was fed up. He ht that the Catholics were ing the British Government, making fresh demands as as old ones were met. Some- in contradiction to this, he eo come to doubt the will of Stormont Parliament to to effect even the modest n programme Labour was ng—and he had equally faith in the ability of the Prime Minister, James ester-Clark, to carry it out.

s absurd, Callaghan said mont, a few days before 970 election. "Here they with all the panoply of ment—even a Prime er—with a population no than four London ghs. They don't need a Minister, they need a good of government, Lewisham not habitually spring to but Callaghan's wife used a GLC councillor there," some misgivings, his civil is agreed.

Whitehall staff work had into the mechanisms for rule. At the Home Office han had a document drawn amining three possible ways sing over Ulster. (Since the document has grown: ossible forms of direct rule been explored.)

aid today that direct rule entail a full-scale military ion "of Ulster, followed by ny of Whitehall officials to e what is seen as a poten- nitous bureaucracy. That may have to be the scale future operation. The 1970 as less dramatic.

ut 15,000 troops would gone over—1,000 more ave there now. Many of ops, it was thought, could

be withdrawn again in a few days. The Ulster Civil Service would carry on, it was reckoned, and only a few dozen Whitehall men, already selected and briefed, were to go over to improve the quality of administration at key points.

The timing of the direct rule intervention depended on the British General Election (June 18, 1970) and events in Ulster. The "season" of Orange marches (June to August) was just about to begin. For a variety of reasons—including the practical difficulty of enforcing a ban—Callaghan was proposing to let the marches go ahead, though several of his colleagues feared bloodshed. If there had been trouble, it would, he recognised, have at least the virtue of justifying direct rule.

THIS, OF COURSE, WAS THE crucial moment when government and the Ulster problem unexpectedly fell into the lap of the Tories and of Reginald Maudling, the new Home Secretary. It is possible that Maudling did not even know what Callaghan had in mind—because of the Whitehall custom of not telling Ministers of new governments what their predecessors had been up to.

An abrupt end to the Army's 'honeymoon'

As we recounted last week, fears of bloodshed as the Orange marches got under way were amply fulfilled. Within ten days of Maudling taking over, he was faced with the first entry of the gunmen of the Provisional IRA into organised action (during the Protestant siege of St. Matthew's Church, East Belfast, on June 27). And he was faced with the abrupt end of the Army's "honeymoon" with the Catholic population (which can be dated fairly precisely to the Army's July 3-5 curfew and house searches in the Falls Road Catholic ghetto). By the end of that one disastrous week of rioting and disorder, the toll was ten dead, 276 injured and £500,000 of damage.

But instead of responding—as Callaghan had planned to do—with the immediate imposition of direct rule, Maudling left Stormont to impose "law and order" of a different kind.



Smiles for a soldier—but rarely now from Catholics who consider the Army has become an instrument for enforcing the Protestant domination

moment to impose "law and order" of a different kind.

ANYONE who supposes that "firm measures" alone are the cure for the ills of Ulster should examine the next episode with care, for it is hard to imagine that there was ever a measure which was firmer, in its way, than the Criminal Justice (Temporary Provisions) Act, 1970.

On Monday, June 29, 1970, after the rioting and shooting which followed from the decision of the Army GOC, General Sir Ian Freeland, to "push the Orange parades through the Ardoyne," the Ulster Cabinet met in a state of something like panic. In anticipation, the Minister of Home Affairs, Sir Robert Porter, and the Attorney-General, Basil Kelly, had spent the weekend cobbling up a new piece of legislation, to provide mandatory prison sentences for rioters.

The Cabinet had been toying with this for six months. The chief advocates had been Freeland and Brian Faulkner—as Minister of Housing and Local Government and a member of the Security Committee, he has the most influential hardliner in the Cabinet. Freeland had always pressed for two changes in the law: stiffer sentences and a new blanket clause to cover people who might be merely present at a riot.

Without dissent, the Cabinet approved the hastily-drafted legislation applying a minimum six-month jail term for anyone convicted of "riotous behaviour," "disorderly behaviour" or "behaviour likely to cause a breach of the peace."

Memorably, the Army was going to be the chief instrument for applying this crude legal device—because the Army would be doing the arresting in riots. The theory was that the Army would hand over anyone arrested to the Royal Ulster Constabulary for charge. But the first that Sir Arthur Young, the head of the RUC—sent by Callaghan in 1969 from the City of London police to clean up the Ulster force—heard of it was when one of his officers, Bill Meharg, burst into his office as the Cabinet broke up and said: "You will never guess what they've done now." Young was appalled.

Freeland saw no problems. He complained at the next meeting of the Security Committee that it was "too little too late." But the more thoughtful members of the RUC saw the peril.

It was as if a Purser more or less admitted in Stormont, unnecessary on a strictly legal basis. Already, there was an ample battery of charges to deal with trouble on the streets, ranging from breach of the peace through disorderly and riotous behaviour, unlawful wounding, grievous bodily harm, and even arson, with further penalties for weapons. But all these charges, of course, needed the specialist disciplines and skills of a police force to make them work.

These were the skills the Army lacked. Now, as the police saw it, the law was being bent for the Army's benefit—and normal police work would suffer in consequence. Deprived of the traditional breach of the peace charge, for instance, the police would find it hard to cope with non-sectarian, Saturday-night drunks.

The legislation was unstoppable: Stormont rushed it through in a record eighteen-hour debate. Only two MPs challenged it line by line: Ian Paisley, who had just won a by-election, and his ally William Beattie. (Paisley, it should be said for the record, is one of the few men at Stormont with any sort of consistent record in opposing military excess and despotic law. Most people affect to see this as nothing more than concern for the necks of his own more extreme supporters, but there is a certain gristly integrity to Paisley's mind which separates him from the Ealsenwill traditions of Stormont at large.)

One of Paisley's complaints was that the Bill was so ill-drafted as not to make sense in parts, and Basil Kelly's own words must surely be unique for an attorney-general recommending a piece of legislation to a parliament. "Inevitably," he said, "harsh cases will arise as a result of this Bill, perhaps even wrong convictions on the basis of mistaken identity."

The spirit in which this warning was received was encapsulated in the words of Captain Robert Mitchell, MP for North Armagh. "It brings in," he said with satisfaction, "an element of ruthlessness."

THE RESULTS OF THIS HASTY legislation were soon made apparent. On August 1, in a disturbance in Belfast, a former chairman of the Civil Rights Association, a dentist called Frank Gogarty, was recording the sounds with a microphone and tape. He was stopped by an Army patrol, bundled against a wall and searched, being thrown against the wall twice in the process. When he protested, he was cursed, kicked and thrown into a jeep, at which he said: "Stop kicking me, you British bastards."

Gogarty was charged with disorderly behaviour and, because of his "insulting and abusive" language, with behaviour likely to cause a breach of the peace.

In court, the soldiers agreed with Gogarty's account of his arrest—as a private put it, he had not been "handled with kid gloves." The magistrate dismissed the disorderly behaviour charge, and the language he found nothing worse than "a case of bad manners."

It did, however, constitute behaviour likely to cause a breach of the peace. Gogarty had to get the mandatory six months—the magistrate saying that he would support a petition for his reprieve.

On appeal, however, Gogarty's sentence was actually increased: he was now bound over for two years as well as being jailed.

There may be faster methods of alienating moderates, but it is hard to think what they may be. A Belfast dock, 20-year-old John Benson, was the next celebrated victim. He painted "No Tea Here" on the wall of his shop—a reference to the now defunct practice of giving tea to the troops. Beside such ubiquitous Belfast graffiti as "Taig Bastards Out," this contribution was scarcely inflammatory. But the Army complained to the police, and a constable traced Benson by following a trail of red paint drips back to Benson's kitchen.

Deciding that the slogan was "an obvious attempt to intimidate people," the magistrate gave Benson the same six months for breach of the peace.

How the stage was set for the Provisionals

This sort of case was so clearly disastrous that Attorney-General Kelly approached the police. Could they, he suggested, "bend the law" a little, and use new charges that did not carry mandatory sentences? There was, according to police sources, an argument of some heat when Young said flatly that the only solution was a repeal of the Act. The judiciary—particularly the magistrates—took the same view. The Cabinet finally succumbed to pressure in December, 1970, and with some sleight of hand repealed mandatory sentences for everything except riotous behaviour.

But by Christmas, 1970, the damage was done. The Ministry of Home Affairs' statistics reveal the fearsome range of the Act. Between July 1 and December 17, 1970—when repeal took effect—289 people were charged with riotous or disorderly behaviour. The police withdrew 129 of these before they came to court, and reduced the charges in 23 cases. (Nine cases dragged on and had still not been heard when the statistics were assembled.)

In the end, therefore, 109 defendants went to court on charges carrying mandatory prison sentences. Every one was convicted. Only four of 17 sentences that went to appeal were reversed. But the fact that of 289 charged only 109 finally came to court shows that in effect the police were sabotaging the Act by introducing an element of

discretion into its working. This was worse but the Catholics maintain, with some justice, that this discretion—extended by the partial repeal—has been consistently exercised in Protestant favour.

Inevitably, the Criminal Justice Temporary Provisions Act 1970 came in Catholic eyes to rank, after the Special Powers Act, as the second most repressive piece of legislation at Stormont's command. And the Army was Stormont's instrument for enforcing it. Polarisation was complete. The stage was set for the emergency, at last, of the Provisionals.

SO FAR this narrative has made little mention of the headline-takers of today, the gunmen and members of the Provisional IRA. The reason is simple. Although the origins of the Provisionals (the Provos) go back beyond the entry of the British troops, their rise to power in the Catholic communities was markedly late, and their descent into war with the British Army later still. Not until February 8 this year was the first British soldier killed by a Provisional. Not until April did General Farrar-Hockley sit down to write a military assessment forecasting—accurately—that a Provisional bombing campaign "is now inevitable" (our italics).

This lag of 18 months between the entry of British troops and the opening of the Provo offensive is now forgotten. The common argument is that because the Provisionals are undoubtedly violent men, many of whom have welcomed conflict with the Army, therefore they have caused the trouble. In a context less emotional than Ireland, the non sequitur would not be accepted for a second. As we have tried to demonstrate, the thread in the steadily darkening pattern since 1969 has been the complex interaction of military strength and political weakness. The Provisionals have reacted to these events.

Certainly, the Provisionals are gunmen, bombers, murderers. But why—if they are such conspiratorial desperadoes—did they take 18 months to emerge, and how did they finally do so? The IRA in Belfast is essentially a different animal from the IRA elsewhere in Ireland, for the cold-blooded reason that the Catholic enclaves of the city, particularly around St. Matthew's in east Belfast, are peculiarly exposed to Protestant reprisal. Previous IRA campaigns have thus avoided the city, and the IRA men there have seen themselves very much as community defenders against potential Protestant attack—with high-town ideas about fighting for a 32-county Republic way down their list of objectives.

Given the unchanging geography of Belfast, and the tradition-bound nature of Ulster society in general, it is surprising that there should have been men, like the Belfast Falls IRA leader Jimmy Sullivan, who were actually willing to allow the official IRA Dublin leadership into such new-fangled ideas as supporting Bernadette Devlin's election to Westminster (thus tacitly accepting the separate identity of Ulster as part of the United Kingdom).

But as the IRA leadership moved through the 1960s away from their simple but heroic dedication to a 32-county Republic, and into the Civil Rights movement by way of an optimistic brand of socialism, many old-time Belfast IRA men were inevitably bewildered by this change. Those men became, for the most part, the leaders of the Provisionals.

The split over the leadership's Left-wing policies came in 1964. The IRA in Belfast then consisted of a single battalion, an impressive title for a scrappy gang of rather under 100 activists. The commander, Billy McKee, was overthrown—nominally, in a dispute over the carrying of the Republican tricolour flag on one occasion—and a group of die-hards promptly marched out with him. Their names now read like a roll-call of top Provisionals: Joe Cahill (ex-Chief of Staff, now in the South), Seamus Twomey (present Chief of Staff), Billy Kelly (recent leader of the Provisionals' Third Belfast Battalion, now in the South) and, later,

Sean MacNally (now Provisional Quartermaster-General).

To replace McKee, the "official" IRA hierarchy elected Billy McMillen, with Jim Sullivan of the Lower Falls as his number two. But even several of those who stayed "official" were unhappy, notably Francis Card (later to be the Provos' propaganda chief, now jailed) and Leo Martin (still at large). "Official" IRA came over the issue of arms. To raise money to sustain the IRA newspaper, the United Irishman, the Dublin leadership decided in 1968 to sell their now, hopefully, unwanted—weapons to the Free Wales Army (who promptly lost them to the Scotland Yard Special Branch).

This, naturally enough, deepened the resentment in Belfast. As violence grew in the summer of 1969, some of the old hands took "precautions." Francis Card secreted three

pistols under the bath in his house near the Clonard Monastery. Leo Martin paid £8 for a Smith & Wesson revolver. But rearmament remained on this minuscule scale.

It is a part of Provo mythology that the official Dublin leadership of the IRA actually planned that the Belfast Catholics should be left unarmed before Protestant attack in 1969. The weird theory, supposedly, was that there would be a terrible massacre which would eliminate the troublesome Belfast dissidents and finally bring down Stormont as a by-product. When the old IRA fears came true, and the Protestants did attack Catholic areas of Belfast in August 1969, the inability of the "official" hierarchy to do their traditional job of community defence finally discredited them.

In September, 1969 after a meeting at which guns were drawn, the IRA leadership in

Belfast—under pressure from the old-timers like McKee who had re-joined—declared their independence from Dublin. The actual split in Belfast between the "Provisionals" (the old-timers) and the "officials" (who still looked to Dublin) came in December.

In August, 1969, the "joint" IRA strength in Belfast was just under 150; by December it had swelled to 600. But of these only 80 or so were hard-core, and when the two factions split, although the Provos took about 400 men with them, they took only 30 or so of the trained activists.

This did not worry the Provos. They reckoned that an effective urban guerrilla campaign required a nucleus of only 50 well-trained men.

There were still pockets of Republicanism which preferred to go their own way. The Catholics of East Belfast, clustered around the Short Strand, formed their own "community defence association" and have remained to this day something of a no-man's-land for either IRA faction.

Only the Lower Falls, under Jim Sullivan's sway, remained an Official stronghold plus the Turf Lodge district of west Belfast, where several hundred old Falls residents had been rehoused (Sullivan had retained his reputation in August 1969 by producing three Thompson sub-machine guns for the defence of the Lower Falls.)

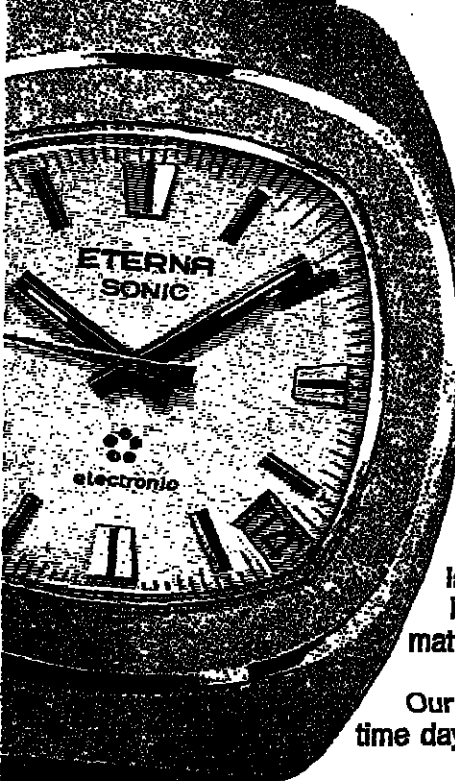
Much of the quiescence of the first six months of 1970 can be accounted for by these regroupings in Belfast. The Provisionals and some of the "neighbourhood defence militia" went training that spring in camps over the border in Donegal, Cork and Wicklow. There was much reading of guerrilla manuals, notably the writings of General Guevara. The Provisionals were simply not strong enough to take anyone on—even if they had wanted to.

Did they want to? The Army's relations with the Catholics were good—though to a large degree that reflected merely the fact that the Army's relations with the Protestants were at that time bad. There is some evidence that the Provisionals were unhappy with this fraternisation, and missed few chances to spread a little disaffection.

Yet, remarkably, until the summer of 1970 the only traceable incidents for which the Provisionals were definitely responsible were one shooting and one bombing. The shooting was on September 28, 1969, when a Protestant crowd made to storm the isolated Unity Walk Catholic

continued on next page

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ICHEL'S BLUE NUN
NTERTAINS RIGHT THROUGH THE MEAL

A PERSPECTIVE ON ULSTER

Continued from preceding page

report to the Home Office—adding them not to give in to Prime Minister's demands for force. Whatever they did, said, "I think Chichester-Clark has shot his bolt."

Chichester-Clark had been talking since January of resigning, to everyone's surprise he put good fight. The mounting, a campaign of violence in the north of Ireland still more from Britain and tension in the Catholic areas which ending and Carrington in London turned down on the advice the Army.

n 'astonishing' document from the Cabinet

alking at Lishburn shortly before midnight, on Saturday, February 20, 1971, Ronald Burroughs, General Farrar-Hockley read a document from the Cabinet. It subsequently became famous in high Government circles, one of the dozen or so people who saw it called "the most astonishing document I have ever seen from a Government department in my

was an ill-typed list, covering pages, of the Unionist's "demands". These included

more troops, and more arrests, more searches, total curfew, Catholic areas, a plan to bring the border, and a stern action in the B-Specials, into parallel with the Army.

at the most startling demand apparently written in at the of the first page as an afterthought. So far as we can gather, Unionists wanted searches of

It was militarily useless, ally wrong, and in the long politically self-defeating, one judgment. Burroughs

Farrar-Hockley submitted a memorandum to London that the document was

receptable in every major respect. It was rejected. (Many of measures, however, have

rept into use under (kner.)

le coup de grace was supplied. On the evening of March 10, three young

back of the head outside a on a country road near Bel-

Scotland Yard detectives concluded that their murr were three Provisionals,

ironically, by an ex-British trooper. The reaction to the

for about 48 hours, hester-Clark feared that the

stant "backlash" had been

March 16, he flew to Lon-

see Heath, Carrington and

ing. He returned to report

Stormont on March 18 that

minister had agreed to send

er 1,300 troops of the 3,000

ad asked for. "It wasn't any

like enough and everyone

it," he remarked after the

le.

next morning, Friday,

h 19, he told Downing

t that he intended to resign.

ine that evening, he was

in his flat in Stormont

eating chicken and chips

three senior civil servants,

the arch-Republican, Eamon de Valera himself. They noted that this remarkable event had occurred too late to be reported in the Belfast Telegraph (an evening paper). But still they wondered how Faulkner, a man who had risen on the power of the Orange Right, could hope to get away with it.

They understood next day, when the Belfast News Letter, the morning paper, carried a report of a vibrant denunciation of the Roman Catholic Church—made by Brian Faulkner in one of the Ulster border counties. Having made his gesture towards the South, Faulkner had jumped into his car and driven rapidly north to redress the balance.

Terence O'Neill, when he was Premier of Northern Ireland, used to say that the political style of his most brilliant Minister was summed up in elaborate trade-offs of this kind. And so it was natural that Faulkner, on becoming Prime Minister, should attempt to save the Province with a balancing act. He tried to bring the Catholic-based Opposition into the process of government, without alienating his power-base in the Unionist Right.

The collapse of this balancing act led directly to the policy of internment. But Faulkner failed not because he had lost his old instinct for equilibrium: the proximate causes of failure were firstly certain rifle-shots fired by the British Army, and secondly the interplay of personality within the Social Democratic and Labour Party.

Among the Unionists and their rivals in the micro-society of Ulster, individual personality can still sway history. For instance, many people think stability would have been preserved had Faulkner—"a real professional"—become the Unionist leader immediately on the fall of O'Neill in 1969.

He did not do so simply because O'Neill chose to cast his own vote for James Chichester-Clark, the very man whose perfection had just brought O'Neill down. "I did it," O'Neill once recalled, "because Jimmy had only been trying to bring me down for six weeks. Brian had been trying for six years. Childish, isn't it?"

The Social Democratic and Labour Party is no less prone to feuding: the bond between its members is less ideology than that all their constituencies have Catholic majorities. The SDLP's leader, Gerry Fitt, is a rum-bustious ex-sailor with the back-slapping manner of a minor US Senator. The style does not sort particularly well with that of John Hume, an intellectual Marxist from Derry. And Fitt has had some mighty personal disputes with Paddy Devlin, an enormous whiskered man who represents the Falls Road area. (On one momentous occasion, they traded punches in Stormont Castle.)

Faulkner's 'best hour'—then two men die

But these are men of some ability and vitality, frustrated by the prospect of permanent opposition amid the slapstick repartee of Stormont. (Sample: Mr Currie—When was the Council of

Treat? Mr Devlin—"I do not know. It is some bar down around Sandy Row.") On June 22 this year in his speech on the Queen's Message, Faulkner made a considerable gesture towards relieving that frustration.

He proposed to add three new and powerful committees to the existing Public Accounts Committee, which would consider Government policies on social services, industrial development and environmental matters. And, much more radically, he proposed that the Opposition should provide

salaried chairmen for two of them.

It was an imaginative, even brave, move. Faulkner had taken over against a background of steadily escalating violence. From the end of March the Provisional bombing campaign had really cut loose—37 major explosions in April, 47 in May and 50 in June when Faulkner made his offer.

The SDLP members reacted euphorically. Faulkner's proposals, said Paddy Devlin, "showed plenty of imagination. It was his best hour since I came into the House."

The Prime Minister has given Hon Members and indirectly those outside an opportunity to share in decision-making.

John Hume said that "it should be made clear to all people today who say that no change has taken place, that this is simply not true. There have been changes in this community."

Another member spoke of "adulation" coming from both sides of the House: against the background of normal Catholic attitudes to Unionists, "adulation" was fair.

Six days later, Faulkner "balanced." With five members of his Government, including Harry West of the ultra-Right, he made a pilgrimage to Brownlow House, Lurgan, a true shrine of Orange ideals. (Though, to keep the colours straight, Brownlow House is the home, not of the Royal Order itself, but of the Royal Black Institution—the Blackmen being the crème de la crème of Orangemen.)



Soldiers frisk civilians in a typical aftermath of a night of rioting in Belfast. The Army's effective power to impose mandatory sentences was a main factor in alienating Catholics.

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It was, in other words, a kind of routine to take Cusack to Letterkenny. It appears that sheer inexperience led his rescuers to think that he was not badly hurt.

Cusack was not known to belong to any Republican organisation: local opinion is that he was more interested in boxing than politics. Patrick Duffy, a well-known moderate, whose peace-keeping efforts have been praised by the Army, says: "I would swear on oath that Cusack was stooping to pick up a helmet knocked off a soldier."

Other witnesses think that Cusack was trying to rescue Duffy's little son from the fire of rifle.

FAULKNER'S symbolic gesture to his Right wing right, and ought, to have been tolerable to the Catholics against the substance of his political offer in the face of mounting Unionist anger about the bombing campaign. But nine days later in the Bogside of Londonderry, John Hume's seat—the Faulkner initiative was

doomed by a series of accidents. Relations in the Bogside, Derry, between the soldiers and the Catholic population deteriorated in the first half of 1971 almost as rapidly as in Catholic Belfast. By the night of July 7, rioting had been going on unbroken for four days, and the Royal Anglians had been fired on sixty times by their count. It says a good deal for the fire discipline of this regiment—the Anglians have a reputation for unusual coolness and restraint—that only three shots were fired in reply.

The night of Wednesday, July 7, was noted as "busy" in the Army log. Rubber bullets were fired on several occasions, and shortly after midnight a patrol began to march down William Street, a main thoroughfare where heavy stoning and petrol bombing had been going on.

A man was seen "carrying a rifle in Fabian Street. According to one Anglian he was ordered to stand still, but moved to a new position and took aim.

A marksman fired one round from his self-loading rifle, at short range. The man fell, and was immediately borne away by the crowd. When the patrol reached the spot, there were huge pools of blood but no sign of any rifle.

The shot man was Seamus Cusack, an unemployed welder, aged 38. He was hit in the

forearm artery, causing heavy bleeding. He was put in a car and driven across the border to Letterkenny Hospital, where he died from loss of blood. Immediate treatment, or even the application of a tourniquet in the car, might have saved his life.

As the Army see it, Cusack's fatal removal across the border is proof that he was an IRA gunman, who could not face treatment in Ulster. But Forside people injured in riots regularly cross the border for treatment, because they fear that Ulster hospitals might give their name to the security officers.

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Extreme Protestant opinion holds that a few shootings will bring back law and order. But in Derry that afternoon Cusack's death caused further, bitter rioting.

Just after 3 pm, an army vehicle was rammed by a hijacked lorry. An Anglian patrol in a Saracen armoured car was called to help, and the Army log records that there were three petrol explosions from nail bombs.

At 3.13, an Anglian marksman again fired one round from an SLR. His target, according to the log, was a man who "fired at him." Desmond Beattie, unemployed, aged 19, died almost instantly.

Father Tony Gillespie, who was standing in a group near Beattie, said at the inquest: "I saw the lad drop to his knees with blood pouring out of him. I could see the hole in his chest." But he said he could not see any trace of a bomb or other weapon.

Henry Curran said that a youth, dressed differently from Beattie, ran past him with "a cylindrical object wrapped in cloth." He threw it at the Saracens, and it exploded. Beattie was shot immediately afterwards.

Forensic scientists found no traces of explosives on Beattie's

body, and no sign that he had fired a gun. The soldier who shot him, described only as Mr A, gave evidence wearing dark glasses, and with his collar turned up to avoid identification.

Hume, then, dominated the meeting. He was emotionally concerned about his two dead constituents, and he was politically concerned about being outflanked to the Left. On the same weekend Rory O'Brady, political chief of the Provisional IRA, came over the border to be rapturously greeted by 2,000 Bogsideers. He gave them, in sharp contrast to Hume's careful reformism, the straight "sweep them into the sea" line. "Please God," he cried, "we'll fix it this time!"

John Hume needed urgently to show that he was not the creature of Stormont—a task not eased by the eagerness with which he and his colleagues had embraced Faulkner's committees. So he drafted, and the little meeting approved, a long and powerful statement. It gave the British Government until the following Thursday to set up an independent public inquiry into the deaths of Beattie and Cusack. Failing that, the SDLP would leave Stormont and set up an "alternative Parliament."

No doubt everyone present

continued on next page

No inquiry, so the Opposition quits Stormont

Mr A said he saw Beattie with a round dark object in one hand, and what appeared to be a flame in the other. This was surprising, as the first report had spoken of the dead man firing a gun.

An open verdict was returned on Desmond Beattie. By that time, his death had already become a kind of cause celebre.

JOHN HUME TRIED TO CALL a meeting of the Social Democratic and Labour Party MPs on the weekend after the shootings. He collected Ivan Cooper, from neighbouring mid-Derry, plus Austin Currie, Paddy O'Hanlon and Paddy Devlin. But Gerry Fitt was somewhere in Antrim, out

of telephone range. When, finally, a message reached the SDLP leader, his response was that he was not going to Derry for any meeting called by John Hume.

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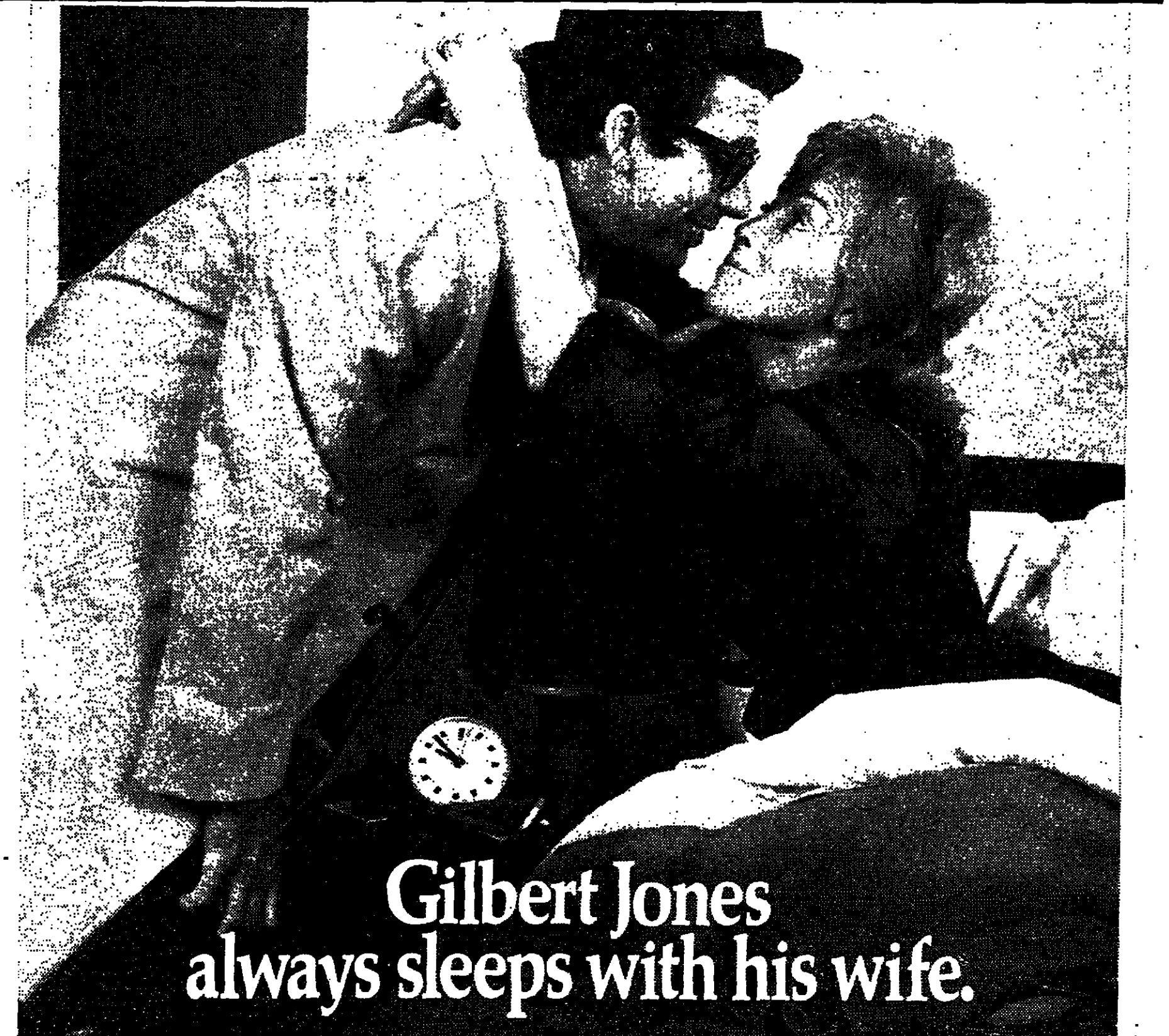
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continued on next page

But then, back in Ulster, Austin Currie, another SDLP member, was asked by a radio reporter whether any proposal, such as a special inquest, might settle the Beattie-Cusack affair. No, he said, it would not: there must be a new inquiry. On Tuesday Lord Balniel announced in Westminster that there would be no such inquiry: on Thursday Fitt, fuming, had to lead his men out of Stormont.

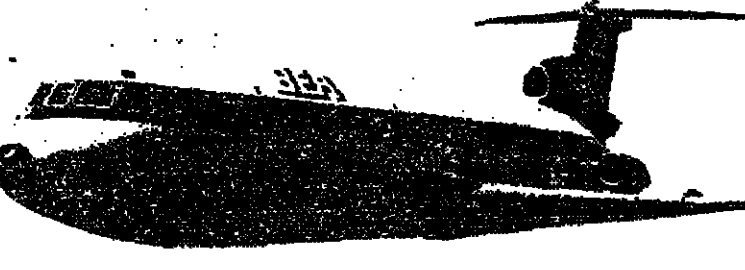
It was a symbolic walk-out, continued on next page



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A PERSPECTIVE ON ULSTER

continued from preceding page

because Stormont was not sitting at the time. But it was enough—more than enough—to make the Unionists say the hand of friendship had been bitten.

It is, of course, possible to say that Faulkner's gesture would have succeeded but for the deaths of Beattie and Cusack. But by mid-1971, such deaths were becoming so frequent in Ulster as to constitute the ordinary risks of politics.

FROM FAULKNER'S election in March to the introduction of internment on August 9 there was an average of two bomb explosions a day. In one of the 12 hours in July, no fewer than 20 explosions wrecked pubs, shops and banks, injuring a dozen civilians. All told more than 100 civilians were wounded in bombings in this period.

The Army too felt the impact of the surge of IRA Provisional activity. Four more soldiers died and 29 were injured between April and August; in return the Army killed four civilians, one, William Reid, being described as a known Provisional.

The bombings and the collapse of his political initiative gave Brian Faulkner a persuasive case for internment, and it was his personal achievement that it was finally granted. But internment was not, as it might appear, Faulkner's response to the events of midsummer. When he took over as Prime Minister on March 22 the issue was not whether internment was to come but when and on what scale?

Throughout 1970 Faulkner was a persistent advocate of internment inside Chichester-Clark's Security Committee—week after week, it became quite a ritual, one Minister recalled.

Faulkner had been Minister of Home Affairs from 1959 to the Home campaign of 1956-1962. Ulster's Catholics had given that campaign no support but one of Faulkner's more abiding convictions was that internment was a crucial factor in its defeat.

Chichester-Clark, who was against the idea, learned to stave off Faulkner's demands by simply asking the Army and the police for their opinion each time. This never varied: given the likely degree of success, internment would not be worthwhile. The Army and the police did not know who to arrest.

Even as Chichester-Clark was falling, internment was not one of his central demands. When Faulkner took over the policy change was immediate. Some time in April, despite the Army's scepticism about internment as a policy, the Director of Military Intelligence at Lisburn set up with the RUC Special Branch a joint "internment working party."

The targets were, from the start, Catholics. The original Ministry of Defence agreement to set up a full scale Military Intelligence in Ulster in March 1970 had been to investigate Protestant extremists, but the IRA bombing campaign had now changed the focus of attention.

The working party had no trouble identifying the leading figures in the Official and Provisional IRA. The Officials, pre-1968, had been highly publicised in the civil rights campaign. And the Provisional leaders were the old-fashioned Republicans that most Special Branch men knew in their sleep. On specialised areas—the bank accounts through which funds passed, for instance—the Army also had good information.

But the younger and newer Provisionals, the actual "gunmen," were almost wholly unidentified. The Provisionals' command structure was equally unknown. (Though Joe Cahill took over as Provisional Chief of Staff when Billy McKee was arrested in March this year, for instance, Intelligence sources seem not to have learned this for five months.)

Filling in the gaps was difficult. In the new housing estates—such as Ballymurphy, and Andersonstown, both Provisional strongholds—the police had almost no informers. The Army found it hard to set up an intelligence network (two MI5 men who arrived in the late summer of 1970 made a mess of the job). And while the RUC Special Branch had been knocked into fairly good shape by the 1970, it was still facing its way.

Much of the working party's time was spent sorting through thousands of photographs, taken by Army cameramen at riots, funerals, demonstrations and meetings and comparing the participants with pictures on RUC police files. (Most of the work was done at the RUC headquarters in east Belfast.)

But the working party had no direction merely the "gunmen," or all past or present Republicans of any kind. The debate inside the group on this question was interrupted, by a kidnapping and a hold-up.

On the Sunday, July 19, Faulkner telephoned Edward Heath in London and said that he thought it was now necessary. When the Army GOC in Ulster, General Harry Tuzo (he had taken over in February) went to London the next day to get a knighthood, the Defence Secretary, Lord Carrington, gave him less welcome news at the same time. Either the Army came up with an alternative policy to internment—which it still opposed—or Faulkner would have to have his way.

Two separate strands are visible in the events that followed: the last-minute efforts to finalise the "internment list," and a search by the Army for an alternative.

Around dawn on July 23, 1,800 troops, and police, raided houses in Belfast and nine other towns in the province. They got what they wanted: both Provisionals and Officials kept no documents on their own activities, but each faction kept excellent files on the other, which the dawn raids picked up. More raids followed: by the first days of August, the working party reckoned its list was complete.

There were just over 500 names on it. No more than 120-130 were gunmen or officers in the Officials or the Provisionals. (The breakdown was roughly 80-plus Provisionals to 40-plus Officials.) The other 400 were "sympathisers." A small group actively helped the gunmen—sheltered them, stole cars for them, and so on. Another group was "too close for comfort"—speechmakers, editors of news-sheets, and grassroots radicals whose work coincided at points with that of the Officials.

But there was a special group of eight or ten who were not gunmen, nor had given "aid and comfort," nor preached violence. They were included on the list simply because they were active politicians who, in the wake of internment, would be ringleaders in the uproar. Chief among these was the People's Democracy leader Michael Farrell.



Catholic mourners at the Belfast funeral of Father Mullan, killed in August

General Tuzo remained highly sceptical about "the Unionists' panacea," as they dubbed internment. It could not work, he said, with the border to the Republic open; and everyone knew there was no chance of the Irish Prime Minister, Jack Lynch, obligingly collaborating by introducing internment in the South, as had happened in the earlier abortive IRA campaign.

Precisely the same conclusion was reached by the Ulster Cabinet. Afterwards, it was said that the British Government only sanctioned internment at the request of the Northern Ireland Government. This is not so. Faulkner's Cabinet met on Tuesday, August 3. Internment

was the main topic, but although on first impression everyone favoured it, such "ifs and buts" emerged that in the end the Ministers reached no consensus, and made no recommendation either way. Nor did Faulkner ask them to make one. Uncharacteristically, he said little the entire meeting.

All that the Ulster Cabinet did agree was that if internment was to be effective, it had to come in the South at the same time. Faulkner said simply "London will have to pursue that."

On Thursday morning, August 5, the Joint Security Committee met in Stormont Castle. Faulkner in the chair as usual, and round the table, politicians like John

Taylor, the junior Minister for Home Affairs, a couple of civil servants, the new RUC Chief Constable Graham Shillington, and the Army contingent led by Tuzo. Even here opinion was against internment. Shillington reported that only a minority of the police favoured it, and those mostly men on the border, not officers in hot spots like Belfast.

That afternoon Faulkner and Tuzo left secretly for London. (The first Faulkner's Cabinet heard of the visit was on television news that evening. They were affronted: "Who does he think he is?" was their main reaction.)

At the Ministry of Defence in the office of the Defence Secre-

tary, Lord Carrington, Tuzo repeated his objections to internment. But in the last analysis Tuzo did not object to the policy. He could offer nothing else which held out the hope of checking the violence (91 bomb explosions in July) and he accepted the necessity to do something to restore the morale and authority of Stormont.

Then Carrington walked across Whitehall and into 10 Downing Street for the Cabinet meeting.

Escalation as the price for an easy option

Faulkner was impressive at the Cabinet—"full of confidence and daring to go," according to one account. Maudling was shrewd enough to see that the analogies Faulkner had been drawing between his success in 1959 and now were shaky, but Maudling was alarmed and anxious at the increasing violence and he, too, had no other policy: with the Immigration Bill and Ulster it had been a tiring period for Maudling. If Faulkner wanted to try it, why not? He gave his support. So did Carrington and William Whitelaw, the Lord President and Leader of the Commons.

There was no real opposition. Tuzo was called in but not to give his views, merely to answer technical questions about the military requirements of the operation. Faulkner had got what he wanted.

IT REQUIRES an effort now to recall the euphoria with which internment was launched and its early results celebrated. "We have forced the gunmen into the open," said Brian Faulkner. "We've Licked the IRA," cried an Evening Standard headline, quoting Brigadier Tickell, the Army spokesman, five days after the first, early-morning arrests. General Tuzo is now a convinced upholder of

internment; the Army believes it is getting on top.

At the time the Army's "suggestion" for detention numbered only in the 100 region and the actual order to round up several hundred surprised them.

So far the harsh arithmetic of the three months and 12 days since internment supports Tuzo's earlier position of scepticism: twenty-six British soldiers killed against a total of 10 dead in the previous seven months; 110 wounded against 67.

The RUC has suffered even more severely. Nine policemen—most of them unarmed—have died since internment came in; before that, just two had been killed all year. The impact on civilians has been just as bloody. Up to internment, 15 were known to have been killed; at least 57 have died since then.

The tempo of the bombing has also accelerated alarmingly. In the period up to internment there were just under 300 explosions in which an estimated 3,518 pounds of gelignite were used. Since then a massive 6,200 pounds of explosive has been used in some 380 bombings.

The aftermath of the internment decision has been reported amply and recently in this and other newspapers. The aim of these articles has not been to repeat that exercise, but to reach back in time and reconstruct the circumstances which led the British Government to this desperate choice.

What is worth repeating, however, is that exactly the same process went into the decision into the previous escalations in 1969 and 1970. That is, the British Government adopted without serious struggle the option which would enable it to slave off for the moment an assumption of direct responsibility for the affairs of Ulster.

Brian Faulkner let it be understood, that internment was a price of his own survival. This is a syndrome which he never worked itself out three times. Each time, it has more seriously inflated the burden of responsibility which some British Government is going to have to assume, some time or other—least, if the theme of our his is correct.

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COMPASS

bad year for Paris

DAY this spring, as I sat in a bistro near the Eiffel Tower and watching the last of the autumn emerge from its downy coat, it struck me that 100 years earlier I have been lucky to get a de rats, that instead of the "Flat Lux," it would have been the Communards' "L'Humanité" that would have been on the wall, and that all in all, the Paris of 1871 was a Neapolitan ghoulish eruption of Vesuvius done up in a Parisian style.

Paris' terrible 1871, as Alister Horne recently reminded us, and it of the look of the city for visitor today. September 25, 1870, an army encircled Paris. The city was being felled for fire-bread of wheat, rice and was rationed, cooking adulterated with candles. The rats fished from the sewers, according to the American resident, "rather disgusting," though he does not which. Zoo animals were killed and menus listed of goat, wolf, camel kidneys and other delicacies.

The British Embassy they down to their last sheep, a cellar. Verlainne made a when his wife served him a of burned horseflesh. A certain doctor's wife who was pregnant could not get suitable nutrition, with the result that her son was to be born somewhat neurasthenic. His name was Marcel Froust.

In the New Year, France surrendered. The Prussian army marched through Napoleon's Arc de Triomphe. Some Parisians wept; afterwards they washed down the streets and even fumigated the paving stones by burning straw. Others, meeting in Montmartre, founded the Commune, a gallant attempt to turn defeat into victory. But they had miscalculated the country's mood, Prussian strength and the character of Adolphe Thiers, head of the Provisional Government, who moved his headquarters to Versailles. On April 2, 1871, Government troops began the second siege of Paris. This time there was no hunger. Instead there was destruction. It began on May 16 when 10,000 Parisians crowded the Place Vendôme to watch a rare piece of vandalism. Courbet, a left-wing artist, wished to rescue the working classes from their lowly role of crowd-seeker in the hands of the past; he also had a horror of Napoleon and atop the Vendôme Column stood Dumont's statue of the Emperor. Under Courbet's direction, part of the column's base was sawn through, ropes were attached from the top to captives, and finally, as three bands played, the 2,000 tons of



Napoleon toppled—as three bands played—in 1871

stone and bronze fell onto heaped-up faggots and straw.

As they were beaten back, the Communards began to indulge in arson. They burned the lovely Louis XVI house which was the seat of the Legion of Honour; they burned the Pavillon de la Vallée de la Seine; they burned the original Salle des Pas Perdus in the Palais de Justice; they burned the Rue de la Harpe and the Rue de la Harpe; they burned the Hôtel de Ville, together with its archives; the whole long, rich history of Paris.

One May night Jules Bergeret, aged 32, a member of the Commune, but a failure as a general, entered the Salle des Marchaux of the Tuileries, smeared the hangings with tar and petroleum

and piled up barrels of gunpowder. Shortly after 10 pm he set fire to it. As the central dome caved in, he scribbled a brief note to the Committee of Public Safety: "The last relics of Royalty have just vanished."

Poor Paris. But it could have been even worse. The Sainte Chapelle (newly restored by Viollet le Duc) was soaked in petrol but no one had time or the impudence to apply a match. In Notre Dame, chairs and pews were built into a pyre, but an officer pointed out that if the cathedral were burned the flames would endanger 800 Communards sick and wounded in the adjacent Hôtel Dieu. The Venus de Milo had been carried for safety to the Prefecture of Police and was feared destroyed when that building burned, but the goddess

emerged unharmed, apparently preserved by a burst water pipe.

The Commune came to an end on May 28. By mid-June, Thomas Cook was shipping English tourists to see the ruins, while Frenchmen stood appalled by their own atrocities and destruction. The National Assembly voted the erection of an immense basilica—"in witness of repentance and as a symbol of hope," to stand at Montmartre, where the Commune had begun. So the Sacré Coeur took shape, built of stone from Châteaufort, which becomes white as it ages.

Most of the burned buildings were rebuilt, but they are pale copies of the originals. Courbet had to pay for the re-erection of the Vendôme Column: its damaged bronze bas-reliefs had to be remade. You can now see one of the original arcades of the Hôtel de Ville in the Parc Monceau. Only the Tuileries was not rebuilt. That west side of the Louvre was left an open space, thus permitting us to enjoy one of the best views in Paris, across the Tuileries Gardens and up the Champs Élysées to the Arc de Triomphe.

One last ripple from the Commune. Claude Monet, a penniless young Norman, fled the war to London. During his brief stay by the Thames in 1871 he came to know the paintings of Constable and Turner. They influenced his work and through Monet left their mark on the Impressionist exhibition. This year 75 Monets were given to the Musée d'Orsay in the Rue Louis Boilly where they can now be seen together with the First Empire collection for which the museum has hitherto been famous.

Vincent Cronin

ST FIRST

LATEST episode in the up-story of the first air travel for packaged tour to Portugal. Tomorrow the Club at Upminster will see that next April their e-bound clients can pay £5 on the total cost of the for the comfort of a first-class both ways on a TAP flight.

Travel Club is the first holiday firm to charter a first-class cabin. The Caravelle used on one of its scheduled services, has a spacious seat configuration throughout, so that economy travellers have the luxury of 33 between the rows, with only 29 inches on packaged tours; planes, and ches in that context make difference between command and price-cutting war has been

to squeeze more and more passengers on to a single aircraft. A Compass writer flew home earlier this month with 118 other Horizon passengers from Majorca on a BAC 1-11 designed for 109 people. This did not affect safety, but it did make a mockery of the air hostesses' pretty little end-of-flight speech about enjoyment.

If the Travel Club's enterprising little experiment is a success many other firms are likely to steal the idea the following year. Already Horizon are talking about making their BAC 1-11 clients considerably more comfortable by reducing the payload to 114 passengers. However, the talks are still in the air and no one will say whether they will come in to land before next year's Horizon holidaymakers take off.

Strip, optional

IT IS now almost as cheap for Britons to spend a winter weekend in their own capital as to fly to Majorca for five days. The London Travel Service, 30 Eliza-

COMPASS POINTS

edited by Jean Robertson

beth Street, London, SW1, is offering two nights hotel accommodation, breakfast and return rail fare from as little as £5. Optional extras include an evening at a strip club with cultural connotations; Neil Gwynn is supposed to have lodged, and entertained Charles II, in the strip room. "This excursion is not recommended for ladies travelling alone," says the brochure.

All the family can watch the dolphins at 25 per cent reduction under the British Transport Hotels' Winterbreak weekend package which offers price concessions at places of family entertainment such as the London Dolphinarium and Madame

Tussaud's and some theatres. Here too, price varies according to home station (sample: 2 nights bed and breakfast and return rail fare from Cambridge £7.70, Newcastle £12.20). Children under 14 are half price and accommodation is at one of BTH's 4-star stations hotels.

A Compass member spent a Winterbreak recently at the Charing Cross Hotel. Solidly comfortable, central for West End and City, the hotel is within walking distance of Westminster Abbey, the Royal Festival Hall, and the National Gallery.

Winterbreak also operates at BTH hotels in Edinburgh and elsewhere. Details from rail ticket offices or BTH, St Pancras Chambers, Euston Rd, London NW1.

industry would dare to put it at risk." This was one of the more perceptive remarks—by Sir Mark Henig, Chairman of the English Tourist Board—to emerge from a conference on tourism and the environment organised by the British Tourist Authority earlier this month.

At last our tourist authorities are waking up to the fact that Britain's countryside is badly in need of care and protection. The latest victim marked down for slaughter is West Dorset, where a Canadian-backed oil company has been prospecting among the downs and valleys of this priceless piece of unspoiled England, an area officially designated as one of Outstanding Natural Beauty.

Local opposition is building up and a protest meeting is being held at Bridport Town Hall on Friday. It would be nice to hear the tourist authorities, both at regional and national level, speaking out against specific threats of this kind.

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Profile

WHEN THE GREEK director Michael Cacoyannis opened his new film, *The Trojan Women*, in New York nine weeks ago he discovered that once again this ancient anti-war play, which is becoming the victim of its own involvement in an overseas war, still carried a powerful topical kick. The Americans made no bones about it: they brought out an instant school book-of-the-film. "What historical and intellectual similarities do you find between the Athens-Sparta war and the Vietnam conflict? Be specific!" the book asks crisply.

Cacoyannis, who gave the Greek cinema an artistic name in the Fifties when he made films like *The Girl in Black*, and who lost favour with some critics after the soft-centred *Zorba the Greek*, reaffirms everything Euripides said in the fifth century about war: that all colonial conflicts are ultimately fatal for the coloniser; that war "teaching" men by violence "changes their character to fit their role," and as time goes on, out of indifference or defiance, people become less guilty and not more guilty at the accumulation of horrors.

He has assembled a formidable array of actresses to help make his points, most of them old friends who agree to work for a percentage. Katherine Hepburn (*Mother Hecuba*), Vanessa Redgrave (daughter-in-law Andromache), Irene Papas (the wicked Helen) and young Genevieve Bujold as the not-so-mad daughter Cassandra. For this is a war from the women's point of view.

At 48, Cacoyannis is a man of tense, restless energy, continually on the move: he suddenly jumps to his feet to make a point or,

possessed by the urgency of an idea, takes such quick decisive steps towards the window that you think for a moment he is going to jump out. Or he sits pulling at a cigarette that at times there is a very palpable plip.

During all this he is making very good sense; at times more passionate, more truly eloquent and more incisive than his film. Do these analogies really work? I asked. I know critics can make this kind of connection because of their training but do you think that...?

Yes, I do. In fact if you have to work out the connections in your brain it is no good. People just feel it. You see war, unfortunately, has not been absent from any of our lives.

Why did you dedicate the film to "oppressed people" and not just openly to the Greek people?

"Because it is not only the Greeks who oppress. You see the same bloody cycle of the strong oppressing the weak everywhere."

Will it be shown in Greece?

"I would hope so, but I doubt it. There are lines like 'Greeks, you have found ways of torturing that are not Greek.' Imagine the excitement in a Greek cinema when that line is spoken."

You live in Paris now, would you ever go back to Greece?

"I would, but how could I? To live is also to work and with that kind of censorship I could not work."

Do you think ancient plays have to be modernised to really make a topical point?

"I think you do a great disservice to a play if you modernise it superficially. But I think some conventions must be eliminated. But if you make changes in, for example, Hamlet, and instead of saying 'There is something rotten in the state of Denmark' you substitute 'Northern Ireland', that I think would weaken the emotional impact."

In the film, when faced with violence—or moments of grief—you have groups of people moving in a curious way. Have you based this on public disasters you have seen?

"Well, I come from a Mediterranean country where violence of people—or nature—is not uncommon. But I was also living in London during the Blitz. I worked for the BBC during the war. I went back to Greece in 1953 and often visited my family in Cyprus. Scenes of violence and tragedy for me are always associated with images of women in black set against a parched white background. That became a kind

of trade-mark of my films. At moments of public tragedy crowds begin to move in unison in a curious way, and a kind of rhythm comes into their speech. There is such drama in their attitudes: at a pit disaster you see men standing still like trees. Tragedy also creates a marvellous silence which I have tried to convey."

Do you think the English can really understand those war situations where the battle is savage and right in your own street?

"The English shared the Blitz together, but that was different. The front was always at a good distance. They could keep up fictions of morality and fair play and continue to be shocked by excesses because they don't understand the enormous fever which grips people in these situations. The French were shaving heads even after the battle was over. People in an atmosphere of riot and civil war are living every minute in an intolerable climate where there just must be excess. After a while a community in these situations becomes seized by a kind of vast drunkenness. The English just don't understand that kind of thing and don't know how to handle it."

Peter Lennon



Atticus

Squashing of a PM

WILLIAM McMAHON, the Australian PM arrived back in Sydney last week to reflect on the successes of his much-publicised world tour in which he met Nixon, shook hands with Heath, and lunched with the Queen. His political opponents regard the whole thing as an attempt at image-building with next year's elections in mind, and there is some glee in the accounts of the tour which are circulating.

He is vastly concerned about his image, reports an Australian writer: "He has, as the advertising men put it, a low profile. We call him the bald Beetle." He has also been described as a Volkswagen with its doors open, a reference to the sweeping bald bonnet of his pate, and the jutting ears which he tries to conceal behind fluffy sideboards. If his profile on the tour improved it must have been mainly due to his attractive wife Sonia, who appeared in slit dresses, flashing gracious smiles at grateful photographers.

In America McMahon set out to make friends with Nixon. He made a speech at the White House and described the President as a brother-in-trust leading the world on the path of freedom, dignity and justice, and closed by announcing that he felt humble in Mr Nixon's presence: "Please rise with me and drink to the health of a very great man."

Australian pressmen were taking notes in the adjacent library room where the speech was relayed, and as Nixon rose to reply

the sound system was turned on prematurely. Clear as a bell Nixon was heard asking: "Do you pronounce your name McMAN or McMAHON?"

A more embarrassing scene was to follow in London. McMahon and his party went to the Waldorf where Shirley Bassey was singing. Before the show Miss Bassey was told that a very important dignitary was in the audience, none other than the Australian PM. She was asked to look out for a short, bald, sun-beaten man. At the end of her performance Miss Bassey swept up to the McMahon table and planted a kiss right on the bald pate of Derek Sharp, McMahon's bodyguard.

His image-building advisers also thought the 63-year-old PM would do well to advertise his brimming good health on his world tour. McMahon is a physical fitness fanatic, eats no fat or carbohydrates, and in Canberra plays squash at every opportunity. It is this physical prowess which gives him his capacity for hard work, he believes, and he frequently refers to it. (In one recent parliamentary squabble a Labour member needed him and McMahon's furious reply was "If you did as much work in a week as I can get through in a day...")

Accordingly, it was arranged he should play his way round the world's squash courts. As a public relations exercise the plan misfired. In the first game in San Francisco McMahon was hit by a racket wielded by Foreign

Affairs adviser Richard Woolcott. Then at the second in Washington McMahon felled his "personal philosopher" Dr Coombs and cut his head with a four-stitch lash. In the third, in London, Woolcott dinged the Prime Minister again and cut his nose. American papers were saying the PM might be a good ally in Vietnam but he was a damned dangerous partner on the squash court.

Finally, on his Thursday morning Press interview at Sydney airport an ingenious TV interviewer took it upon himself to inquire into the Prime Minister's health. "Are you feeling quite fit, Prime Minister?" he asked. "You're looking a little pale," said McMahon.

"That's a nasty question but I assure you I'm perfectly well." "Well, I can't feel feeling worried about you, Sir," the interviewer stumbled on. "I notice looking at your eyes that one pupil is larger than the other. What is the reason for that?" "Why," said McMahon, "furious and embarrassed. If you must know, I was hit in the eye by a squash ball in 1953 and it's been like that ever since."

Hands off

AS FAR AS the Royal Shakespeare Company knows, Jean Genet isn't aware that they are mounting a mighty production of his play *The Balcony* at the Aldwych in four days time.

Terry Hands, who produces it, privately thinks this is all for the best. For there have been occasions when this enfant terrible of French literature (the enfant is 61 next month) has reacted furiously to the liberties that producers take. Ten days before the opening of his play, *The Folding Screens*, he quarrelled with one of the leading ladies and asked her to leave. "I cannot support naturalistic acting," he complained.

When *The Balcony* was first attempted here, Genet suddenly appeared and told the producer

that he was not interested in the most part in cheap hotels. He

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He is likely to turn up at the airport one day, and ring his agent, who'll come and collect him. Photographer John Vickers, who took the picture (left) met him there on one occasion and found Genet, with shaven head, innocent grin, dressed only in running shorts and vest. He was scandalising the immigration officers asking them in turn if they were homosexual.

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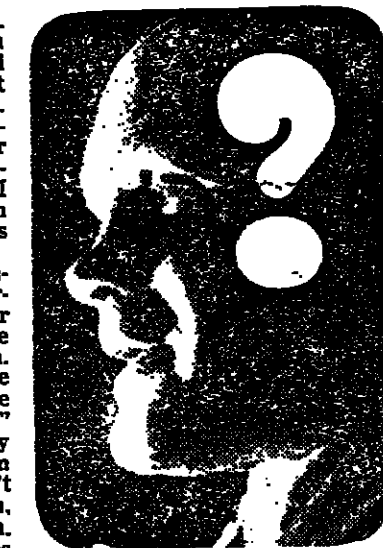
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Jean Genet: missing playwright

Peter Zadek that he was outraged. "Your interpretation completely defames my intentions." He also disliked the film interpretation of *The Balcony*, which exaggerated the brotherly side of the play, but was unable to do anything about it.

Terry Hands has some reason to be nervous because the RBS is not using the official translation by the American, Bernard Frechtman, but a new one by Barbara Wright, who's been working from the first edition which Genet himself had rejected. They argue that Genet was to himself. They believe he had been forced to make cuts in this anti-establishment play because of the pressure of the de Gaulle regime of the day.

No-one has any way of checking with Genet, this unique man who's proud to call himself a thief and homosexual. His agent has no way of reaching him because he has no home, no permanent address, and stays for the most part in cheap hotels. He

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